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[John L. Anderson]



William H. R. Herriman.

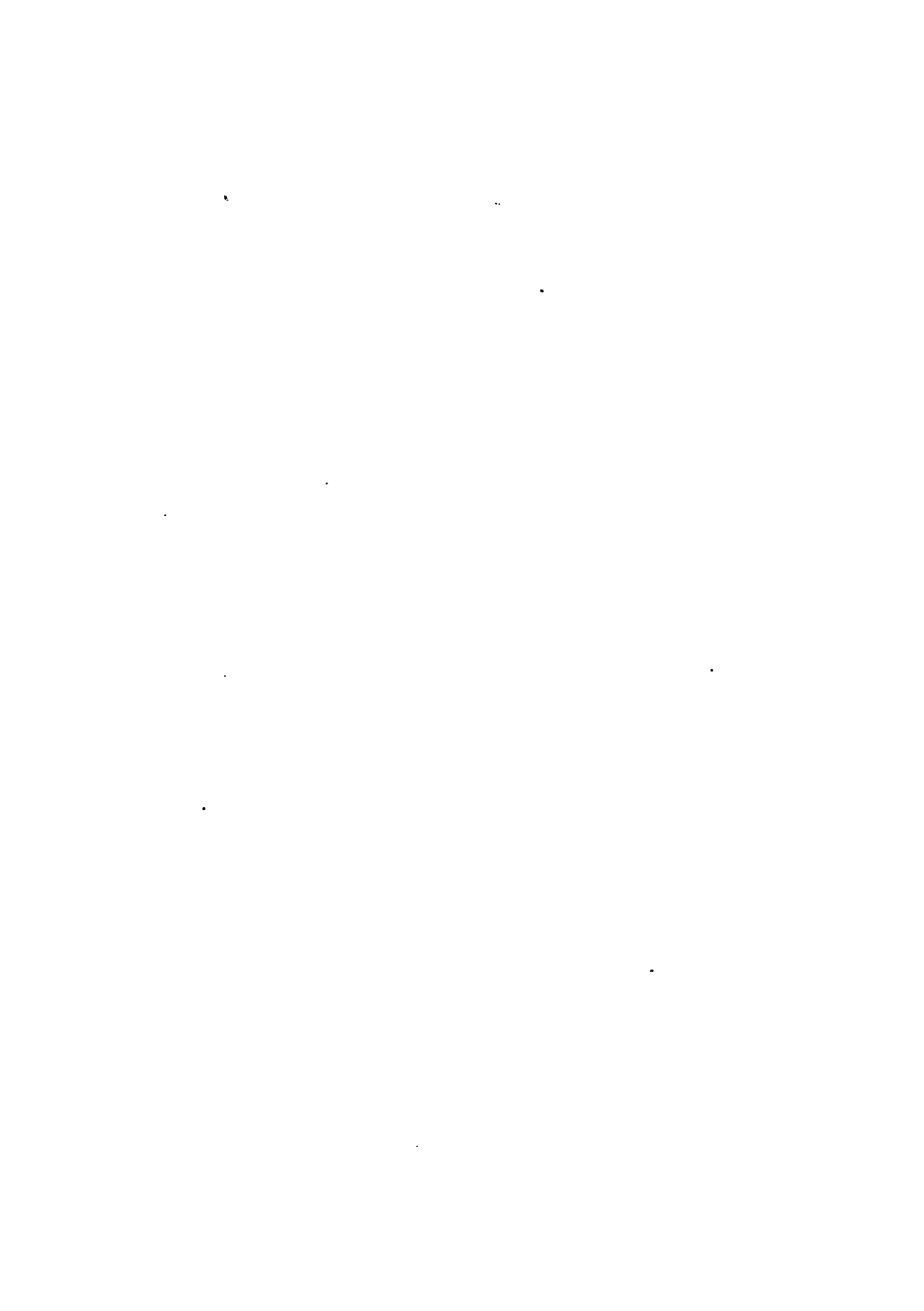


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G. Vertue Sculp.

*The R.^t Rev.^d Father in God Thomas Ken DD.
Late Lord Bishop of Bath & Wells. Anno. Etat. 73.*



THE LIFE OF
BISHOP KEN



Bishop's Door from Olosters at Wells



Your very humble, & faithful servant -
 Wm. Coll: Tho: Ken
 Dec: 4th 1667
 2

Engraved by W. Horpenny, from a contemporary writing by Ken.

London: W. Boscawen, 1760.

Anderdon, John Lavieount

THE LIFE OF
THOMAS KEN

BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

BY A LAYMAN



LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1851

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Life of Thomas Ken.

ERRATA.

- P. 43, for "anxious activity," read "anxiety."
60, for "of both," read "or both."
64, for "met," read "meet."
93, for "so far the," read "so far from the."
135, for "town of Winchester," read "towers of Winchester."
144, for "spirit of the prayer," read "spirit of prayer."
146, dele note "Appendix C."
166, for "within ramparts," read "within the ramparts."
171, for "commands," read "command."
194, for "reduced," read "seduced."
307, for "whilst they," read "whilst the Bishops."
387, for "give it plain words," read "give it in plain words."
467, for "Nazianzen," read "Nazianzum."
479, for "acquiesce," read "acquiesce."
491, for "Nicæa," read "Nicaea."

10 copy Christ O may I derive,
From Whom I that dear name derive ;
And die, when death shall me arrest,
A Christian, with Christ's unction blest."



Bishop's Door from Cloisters at Wells

force upon Scotland the Liturgy of the Church of England, which to Presbyterians was no less obnoxious than the ritual of Rome. This gave occasion to the Scottish Covenant. Afterwards, in an evil hour, he was induced to sanction a law for abolishing Episcopacy in that country, which was one of the greatest errors of his reign, and the groundwork of after proceedings destructive to the well being of the Church.

In the same year, having resolved to govern without Parliament, he had recourse to violent expedients for his revenue. The trial of John Hampden, for refusing to pay the tax of Ship-money, heightened the discontents of his English subjects, and led to the forfeiture of his crown and life. Neither the growing phrenzy of republicans and sectaries, who brought the Earl of Strafford to the block, nor the cruel and unjust execution of Archbishop Laud, convinced the King, until too late, of the fatal extremes to which the nation might be impelled,—even “the guilt of shedding his own sacred and innocent blood.”*

Thus Ken was nurtured in an age that prepared men of loyal and reverential minds for a resolute defence of the Church and of Monarchy. His spirit was disciplined to suffer all things for conscience' sake, especially in maintaining the purity of religion. He had learned to hold an even balance between allegiance to the Crown, and unshaken fidelity to the Church. Amid all distractions he had one sure anchor of the soul, one fixed point on which faith

* Form of prayer for the 30th of January.

might rest,—the conviction that God's law is just, and that it is unchangeable.

His father, Mr. Thomas Ken, of Furnival's Inn, an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas, was of an ancient Somersetshire family. By his mother, Martha Chalkhill, he derived immediate descent from the Poet, John Chalkhill, of whom it is recorded that "he was in his time a man generally known, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour; a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent; indeed his whole life was useful, quiet and virtuous."* These qualities, and his poetic genius, endeared him to the illustrious Edmund Spenser.

Ken's mother died before he had yet attained his fifth year, or could know the full depth of such a bereavement. But this almost irreparable loss was in some measure supplied to him in his sister Ann, who was then about thirty years of age. She was "a woman of remarkable prudence and of the primitive piety: her great and general knowledge was adorned with true humility, and blest with much Christian meekness." This was the praise given to Ann Ken by one of the greatest lovers of truth in that or any other age,—Izaak Walton, "honest Izaak," as he was familiarly termed by Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester. His well known "*COMPLETE ANGLER, or Contemplative Man's Recreation*," although unpretending in its subject, so abounds in pathos, and in Christian reverence, as to place him high on the list of our moral writers. For harmony of language,

* Preface to *Thealma and Clearchus*.

freshness of rural scenery, and truth of nature, many passages of this book have all the charm of poetry.

The character he has drawn of a true Angler is so merry-hearted, yet so innocent, so simple, yet so conversant in polite learning, so loyal and brave, that he is an example of a Christian Gentleman. It is equally certain that few works in our language breathe a more devout and temperate spirit, than his lives of Dr. Donne, Sir Henry Wootton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Bishop Sanderson.

The union of Izaak Walton and Ann Ken in 1646, gave to Thomas Ken, at nine years of age, the right to call him his elder brother Izaak. Guided by his precepts through the paths of early life, he was trained up in Christian love, to bear with the infirmities of others, to inform their judgements, and win them to the love of Christ. The value of this alliance was enhanced to Ken in 1651, when he was not yet fourteen years of age, by the death of his father; an event that imposed on Walton the sole responsibility of a parental watchfulness over the young orphan. His faithful discharge of this duty found its reward, when Ken became, in his turn, the instructor of Walton's son, afterwards a Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral.

It does not appear that Walton imparted to Ken a portion of his love for angling, or persuaded him to follow in this the examples of Dean Nowell, and George Herbert, with other "ornaments of the art." Certain it is, however, that he instilled into his opening mind such exalted views of the privilege and dignity of Holy Orders that, resolving to forego

all fecular purfuits, to follow the painful footsteps of the Apostles St. Peter and St. John, he became a patient and hopeful “fisher of men.”

It is doubtful at what period, or where, he first entered on his course of “grammar learning:” few memorials have been preserved of those early years, when lasting impressions for good or evil are stamped on our pliable nature. The spiritual graces that shone forth in him through life, might alone assure us that he was from a child, like young Timothy, trained up in prayer and study of the Holy Scriptures. This is confirmed by a passage of his own poems, which shows an affectionate and thankful heart for so great a blessing:

“E’er since I hung upon my mother’s breast,
Thy love, my God, has me sustain’d and blest:
My virtuous parents, tender of their child,
My education pious, careful, mild:
My teachers zealous to well-form my mind,
My faithful friends, my benefactors kind,” &c.

Doubtless he was early initiated in the Catechism of our Church: and no sooner was he consecrated to the office of Bishop, than he composed his “Exposition on the Church Catechism, or PRACTICE OF DIVINE LOVE;” which, had he never written anything beside, would justly entitle him to our grateful memory.

At the age of thirteen he was placed at Winchester school. Here he went through the ordeal, which so often determines the moral character of after-life. In their passage to manhood, boys of a public school are either raised in the scale of responsible beings, trained to a higher nature, and moulded to a resolute and free-

hearted obedience to the divine will;—or, losing their home-reverence for holy things, they become indifferent, bold in disobedience, neglectful of prayer, openly profane; till at length, fallen from their innocence, they undergo the deep fearing of conscious sin. How great, then, is the responsibility of masters and tutors in our public schools, to whom is confided the training of English divines, nobles, statesmen, and influential members of the middle class! It is not too much to say that the future interests of the Church and State are, in some sort, confided to their care. If animated with a simple and holy ambition, great indeed is their privilege, and their reward!



CHAPTER II.

William of Wykeham — Founds his two Colleges of St. Mary at Winchester and Oxford — Ken at Winchester.



HE ancient and famed school of Winchester was founded by William of Wykeham, a Prelate whose noble religious charity, consecrated all his wealth to munificent works for the honour of God. Witness his two Colleges of St. Mary, at Winchester, and Oxford, wholly designed and endowed by himself for the perpetual maintenance of poor scholars, to be instructed in theology and scholastic learning; whereby the Church might inherit a succession of holy men to administer the solemn rites of religion.

It pleased God in the reign of Edward III. to raise Wykeham from a humble station to be the chief ruler of the King's councils. As Pharaoh appointed Joseph to preside over all the land of Egypt, "because he was discreet and wise," so for his excellent qualities did Edward commit the highest offices of the state to the hands of Wykeham. "Everything was done by him, and nothing was done without him."* He has left us a shining example of watchfulness and fidelity both in ecclesiastical and secular rule. Entrusted with ten

* Froissart, vol. i. ch. 249. Ed. 1574.

talents, he accounted himself but a steward of God's bounties, employing them *all* in His holy service. He repaired and beautified the Churches throughout his Diocese,—enlarged and richly endowed the Hospital of St. Cross, and other charitable foundations,—reformed the rules and conduct of religious orders, and made contending Bishops to be of one mind.

The crowning testimony of his zeal was the restoration of Winchester Cathedral; a work seemingly beyond the powers of one man to accomplish. What a wise heart, what holy fervour, and steadfast energetic faith must have sustained him in completing such a monument of grandeur and skill! Here through all the vicissitudes of doctrine and discipline God has been worshipped: one generation after another has listened to the persuasive teaching of Bishops and Pastors: Choirs of angels have united in the Allelujahs, resounding through the vaulted roofs and groinings of this glorious shrine. Who can estimate the rich blessings bequeathed to England by the pious founders of our ancient Cathedrals? Our greatness as a nation is inseparable from the dignity and holiness of the Church, which amid all troubles has been the Palladium of the monarchy, and thereby of British freedom.

Where now in this reluctant age shall we find one great-hearted man to lay even the first stone of such a temple, in faith that future servants would be raised up to carry on the work? Vast heaps of wealth, untold revenues, lofty palaces, multiply through the land, while our Parish Churches, even within the domains of the great and noble, fall to decay. God has poured into our lap the treasures of the world;

but alas! our hearts lie in our coffers, and cannot wing their way to the bright inheritance of a truer wealth above. One by one the possessors, rich in all but faith, are summoned to their reckoning, and drop into oblivion: but where are the recording angels to bear to Heaven the registry of their deeds of self-denying love? Not the very crumbs from their fulness, not so much as a poor legacy, for ever-enduring works of Christian charity!

Christ's Name has been on our lips four centuries and a half since Wykeham was called to his reward:— And all things are still wanting to the efficiency of the Church; Bishops and their Suffragans, Cathedrals and Churches, Colleges and training-schools, Pastors and teachers, to bear the message of glad tidings to our untaught multitudes at home and abroad. It were well for us if but a tythe of a tythe of one year's millions, spent in luxury, vain splendour, and self-indulgence, were given to satisfy these crying needs.

In founding his College of St. Mary Winton, Wykeham did not leave the objects of his munificence to the uncertain judgment or principles of after-times. He knew that, without a code of fixed rules, based on the supreme love of God, his plan would want the elements of lasting success. He therefore bestowed the greatest pains in framing statutes for Winchester, in every department of school discipline;— for the election and removal of the scholars, for regulating their dress, studies, dormitories, games and punishments, for their comfort in sickness, their provision in health, —even the times of opening and shutting the gates.

He directed how they shall sit at dinner, how during the meal one of the scholars shall read aloud a portion of the Bible, or other holy book, "*quem in silentio epulantes audiant, et diligenter auscultent ;*" and how, after saying grace, they shall go quietly out of hall, except on high festivals in winter, when they may remain to enjoy themselves over the fire, in singing, or reading poems and histories, or in other recreations, "*quæ Clericalem statum condecorant.*"

Above all, he provides for their daily attendance in Chapel, where they are commanded to join reverently in the appointed services, and in the observance of the Church festivals, chanting of psalms, &c. "So much care is taken," says Ken, "to make the youths good Christians, as well as good scholars, and they go so frequently to prayers, every day in the Chapel, and in the school, singing hymns and psalms to God so frequently in their chamber, and in the Chapel, and in the Hall, that they are in a manner brought up in a perpetuity of prayer."*

These statutes were so highly esteemed that Henry VI. adopted them, almost word for word, when, a century afterwards, he founded his no less illustrious Colleges of Eton, and King's College, Cambridge. In one particular at least, Winchester and Eton have unhappily deviated from their Founders' statutes, to the Church's manifest loss. It is quite clear that the seventy poor scholars in each were to be exclusively youths designed for holy orders. Our present spiritual

* Ken's Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, 2nd Edition, 1675, p. 13.

needs at home and in the colonies surely demand that the original design should be carried out.

On the 30th of January, 165 $\frac{0}{1}$, Ken, now thirteen years of age, entered on the probationary life of a Winchester scholar.* Here his conduct was an example to others: his talents and acquirements paved the way for his advancement, in due time, from Wykeham's school to his College at Oxford. The seeds were now sown of a holy obedience to the discipline of religion, afterwards to be perfected in the rich fruits of his maturer age.

Here "he contracted a closely cemented friendship,"† that ceased only with their lives, with "Francis Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, a most truly pious prelate." The attachment between these youthful Winchester scholars was no less fervent than the love between David and Jonathan, "whose souls were knit together." This mutual love deepened, in after-life, into a yet more steadfast friendship: both had been poor scholars, both were chosen to the highest offices in the Church; both displayed an apostolic fortitude as Confessors for

* His admission is thus recorded in the College-Books; "*Thomas Ken, de Berkhamstead, in Com. Hertford, annorum 13 ad Festum Michaelis 1650, admissus est Januar. 30, 1650.* (Answering to our January 30th, 1651.) The College election was in those days held at Michaelmas: each boy was then reckoned to be of the age which he had attained at his last preceding birth-day. Ken, therefore, born in July 1637, was 13 by the College calculation at Michaelmas 1650. His vacancy then fell 4 months after, and he was admitted as a scholar in January, 165 $\frac{0}{1}$."

† Hawkins's "Short Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Ken, D. D. sometime Ld. Bp. of Bath and Wells." 8vo. 1713, p. 2.

the primitive faith, when the unlawful commands of a tyrant were to be opposed; yet, immoveable in their loyalty, were content to suffer poverty and deprivation for their steadfast allegiance in his reverses and exile.

The College was at this time under the wardenship of Dr. John Harris, a noted Grecian, and formerly Greek Professor of the University of Oxford, "which office he executed with great honour and credit."* But being tainted with the schismatical principles of the age, he sided with the Presbyterians against the Church, and set himself in the ranks of the disaffected to oppose the King. He took the Covenant and other oaths, and was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, appointed by Parliament in 1643, under pretence of settling religion and Church Government, but really for the purpose of conforming the Church of England to Presbytery. The Book of Common Prayer and the Creed, even the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, were declared to be useless. Then followed the New Catechism, and the Confession of Faith, set forth in the Directory, and all their consequences, so fatal to the peace and happiness of the nation—a warning to after-ages of the desolating effects of schism on the heart and conscience.

It is not likely the Warden of Winchester should often, if ever, have found time to be present in the Assembly at London: his election is by no means conclusive that he attended their meetings. Several pious Bishops and Divines of the Church were ap-

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 225.

pointed, but refused to act,—as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, Dr. Morley, Hammond, Sanderfon, and others. It is certain that Harris entered into controversy with Dr. William Twisse, the Prolocutor of the Assembly. He was “so noted a Preacher that Sir Henry Savile (who was himself styled the magazine of all learning) used often to say he was second only to St. Chrysostom*” the golden mouthed father, whose orations, even in his youth, were so full of sweetness and glowing fervour, that his master Libanius took a pride in reciting them to the most distinguished rhetoricians of Antioch. To Warden Harris therefore, we may in some measure ascribe Ken’s persuasive and powerful eloquence, for which he afterwards became so remarkable.

He was five years in his progress through the several classes: each step, as it brought him nearer to the rank of Præceptor, gave him greater privileges, and a fuller enjoyment of the sports and pastimes that expand and knit the youthful frame into manly vigour. We cannot doubt that as a Junior he observed the ancient statute “*præfectis obtemperato*,” as a Præceptor that of “*legitimè imperato*,” and, as both, that of “*uterque a mendaciis, ostentationibus, jurgiis, pugnis, et furtis abstineto*.” Certainly, the love of God appears to have been an early instinct of his mind, and was afterwards heightened to an evangelical piety, as may be gathered from all his writings. Even his familiar letters begin and end with some expression of holy zeal;—as “All Glory to God,”—“God keep

* Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 224.

us in His reverential fear and love ;” or “ God keep us resigned to His will, and mindful of eternity,” &c. In all his writings and prayers his heart is evidently exalted with an ardent piety, which must have grown with his growth, until it formed an essential part of his nature.

Here, training up for the contests and sufferings of maturer age, under the strict control of Wykeham’s discipline, Ken and his friend Francis Turner passed through Winchester school. At length in 1655 their mutual pleasures were interrupted by Turner’s removal to New College, Oxford. We may imagine the anxiety of his companion to follow him. But his younger age gave him another year to wait, increasing in wisdom, and in the ornaments of “ a towardly disposition,”* until 1656. “ His parts, application, and behaviour were well employed and observed.”†

He was now at the head of the school, and on the verge of being superannuated, having nearly completed eighteen years of age. Election Tuesday‡ approached: the Examiners from Oxford§ were to be welcomed at the College gate, according to ancient custom, by a Latin speech. Ken was probably head Præpositor, and appointed to the task. Then followed the examination of the candidates for New College: moments of fearful interest, to himself and his expecting friends. It was a joyful announcement when

* Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 989.

† Hawkins’ Life of Ken, p. 2.

‡ Between the 7th day of July and the 1st of October.

§ The Warden and two Fellows of New College.


he was declared to be on the roll of the elected : but, as there was no present vacancy at New College, he entered himself as a student at Hart Hall, in Oxford, in hopes of a vacancy within the ensuing year :—failing which, his chance was gone without recovery.

They who have been brought up at a public school can testify how they love to recognize the names of their distinguished men, engraved—or as it were enshrined,—on the old wainscotings and walls. Ken's name sheds a bright ray on the venerable cloisters of Winchester. "THO. KEN, 1656," cut into the stone buttress of the south-east corner, still remains a cherished memorial to Wykehamists of the good Bishop. And near to this, within the same cloister, and of the same date, Dr. Moberly has lately discovered the name of Francis Turner, as if they knew not how to be separated even in these early records.



CHAPTER III.

Ken removes to Oxford—The state of the University under the Commonwealth—His College life—The Restoration.

OULD that we were able to give an exact account of our young scholar's journey, as he trudged from Winchester to those longed-for spires of Oxford. The happy pilgrimage was probably made on foot, with his walking staff; for it was not like a poor scholar of that day to ride his horse, and there were no stage coaches between Winchester and Oxford. In this he would follow the example of young Richard Hooker, when he took his journey on foot from Corpus Christi College to see his mother at Exeter. Passing by Salisbury, Hooker paid a visit to his loving patron, old Bishop Jewel, who lent him his own "walking staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany;"—and gave him "ten groats to bear his charges to Exeter," and promised "if he brought it back to him, he would give him ten groats more to carry him on foot to the College: and so God bless you, good Richard."*

In like manner, and with equal simplicity, we may suppose Ken to have travelled on, till he set himself

* Walton's Life of Richard Hooker.

down to rest within sight of Oxford,* and the sound of Christ-church bells. Perhaps some reader may have felt the same thrilling emotions which stirred within him, when for the first time he caught a glimpse of those towers, rising from the groves and meadows. Whilst he looked out on the scene, he might indulge himself in anticipating the pleasures of a College life.

But Oxford was no longer the happy abode of religion, learning, and peace. Her schools, colleges, and halls, beautiful in their order, hallowed by centuries of pious brotherhood and scholastic wisdom, had for nearly twelve years been the scene of republican disorders: many hundreds of the most eminent men had been thrust out by the Parliamentary Visitors, to make room for schismatics. Fanaticism and selfishness had uprooted religion, and seized the munificent endowments, designed to transmit learning and piety to the most distant ages. A holy charm seems to hang over St. Mary's in the distance,—how still and beautiful! But Ken little knew the disorder that reigned within. The rightfully appointed Preachers,—the Masters and Fellows and Professors, had long been under persecution as “scandalous ministers, saucy Jacks, brazen-faced fellows.”† St. Mary's pulpit was still profaned by the Seven Puritan Ministers, sent down by Parliament to preach the loyal scholars into a new obedience. All ecclesiastical discipline and religious ceremonies had been denounced as “a heap of atheistical Roman rubbish.” The altar and stained

* On Hinckfey Hill, near Bagley Wood.

† Anthony Wood.

windows were commanded to be broken, the chancel levelled, organ and surplices abolished, and the Book of Common Prayer forbidden in Church or private families, on pain of imprisonment, *and all for liberty of conscience!*

Cromwell, the Arch-rebel and Regicide, was Chancellor. Dr. John Owen, "Oliver's Ahithophel, the Prince, the Oracle, the metropolitan of Independency," filled the office of Vice-Chancellor. Having solemnly promised obedience to the Bishop, his Diocesan, and taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his King,* he turned with the tide of Rebellion, preached against all Episcopal authority, and applauded the murder of Charles as just and righteous. On taking his seat as Vice-Chancellor he had sworn to observe the statutes and maintain the privileges of the University: yet he endeavoured to put down all habits and formalities, and "so undervalued his office as to go in *quirpo*, like a young scholar, with powdered hair, snake-bone band strings, with very large tassels, a large set of ribbons pointed at his knees, and Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cock'd."† He was "so great an enemy to the Lord's Prayer (yet ordained to Holy Orders!) that when some preachers concluded their own with it, (which was very seldom done by any, especially the Presbyterians and Independents, because it was looked upon, forsooth, as formal and prelatical to do so) he would with great sneering and scorn turn aside, or sit down, and put on

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 737.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 738.

his hat.”* One of the Proctors was “Hierome Zanchy, a boisterous fellow at cudgelling, foot-ball playing, and indeed more fit in all respects to be a rude soldier than a scholar, or man of polite parts. In the beginning of the Rebellion he threw off his gown, and took up arms for the Parliament, and soon after became a Captain, a Presbyterian, an Independent, and I know not what.”†

It was no wonder, therefore, if republican Professors, Masters, Principals, and Fellows were thrust upon the reluctant University, now suddenly bereft of her most perfect patterns of holiness, and surest guides in sound learning, because they demurred to the Covenant, and negative Oath, and the Engagement to the Commonwealth without King or House of Lords.

In their room succeeded “an illiterate rabble of poor scholars, Pedagogues from Belfries, Curates, and sometimes Vicars, as also Parliament soldiers, especially such as had lately been disbanded. They were commonly called seekers, were great frequenters of the sermons at St. Mary’s, preached by the Seven Ministers appointed by Parliament, and other Presbyterians that preached in other Churches in Oxford, and sometimes frequenters of the Conventicles of the Independents and Anabaptists. The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands laying on their breasts; they mostly had short hair, which at this time was called the *Committee cut*, and went in

* Ibid. p. 739.

† Wood’s Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. p. 69.

quirpo, in a shabb'd condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated school boys, than academicians, or ministers."* Not only the heads of Houses, Professors, Lecturers, and other members of the University, down to the undergraduates, but even "the beadles, college servants, bed-makers, and scrapers of trenchers were thrown out, and banished from their places."† Such were the violence and tumult, which to the amazement of all good men, "set the whole Church and nation in a combustion, and went far to render the Reformed religion, and all Protestants, odious to all the world."‡

New College, in the midst of this confusion, had especially maintained its loyal principles. The Warden was charitable Dr. Robert Pink. He needs no other praise than that he appointed Dr. Peter Gunning, Dr. Isaac Barrow, and Dr. Richard Sherlock to be Chaplains of his College. The last of these, when ejected by the Visitors, was compelled to accept the curacy of Cassington, near Woodstock, and out of a stipend of £16 a year bestowed the greater part in charity amongst the poor; a man of such exemplary holiness, that good Bishop Wilson honoured his memory by writing an account of his life.

Dr. Pink had some time before assembled all who were capable of bearing arms, and willing to serve for the defence of the King. The privileged men and scholars of New College answered freely to the summons. They formed themselves into a militia, bring-

* Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. p. 61.

† Ibid. p. 68.

‡ Oxford Reasons against the Covenant.

ing with them “such apparel of war as they could rout out from the Colleges; helmets, back and breast pieces, pykes, muskets, and other appurtenances.”* The Cloisters and towers of Wykeham, designed by their founder for the abode of peace, were converted into magazines of war.† But all in vain:—the battle of Nafeby was fought and lost. Oxford yielded with her garrison; then followed all the after-violence. New College was not spared in the general tumult: the members were cited to appear before Cheynell, Prynne, and other Visitors. Only one of the Fellows consented to the oaths; the others scorned to submit to their usurped authority. George Marshall, who had served as Chaplain to the rebel army, was obtruded into the Warden’s chair. By the 22nd of April, 1650, eight Chaplains, and fifty-four Fellows, were thrust out to make room for needy adherents to the new order of things.

This reign of terror in Oxford had in great measure subsided by the time Ken bent his footsteps to Hart Hall. There was a false calm, saddened by the presence and rule of schismatics. Great was his sorrow, when in the retired chamber of Francis Turner he first heard of the tauntings and scoffs by which holy ordinances were dishonoured in the highest seats of authority. It was a gloomy prospect for one of his inoffensive and peaceable temper, when the governors of societies, founded for the teaching of a pure faith, were banded together to oppress its adherents.

But not even these adverse influences could root out

* *Life of Ant. à Wood*, p. 13.

† *Ibid.* p. 17.

the deep principles of religion which had for so many centuries ennobled Oxford. And where, if not within her precincts, could peace be found, when the despotism of a fanatical military had carried confusion into every corner of the land? The violence of man may seem for a while to withstand God's providential government. They who love Him have their trial, — perhaps their chastisement, — in wrongs to be endured. But all things work out His irreverfible law; the ends of His wifdom are ferved even by the hands of the wicked. He had permitted the fuccefs of tyrants; but had not left Himfelf without witneffes in Oxford, even under their mifrule.

Of thefe we muft content ourfelves with one example in the great and good Robert Boyle, whole rare wifdom and varied acquirements have perhaps remained unequalled by any fince his time. In his own day thefe gained for him fo great a fame, even in foreign countries, that no learned ftranger came to England but fought his acquaintance.* He had attained a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and other languages. He was familiar with all the mathematical fcience; yet fo lowly in fpirit, fo innocent, candid, and obliging, that he demeaned himfelf humbly to all men who approached him. This is not to be wondered at, fince his genius was fanctified by a Chriftian fpirit. “He had fo great a reverence for the Deity, that the very Name of GOD was never mentioned by him without a pause, and a vifible ftop in his difcourfe, in which Sir Peter Pett,

* Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, p. 144.

who knew him for almost 40 years, affirms that he was so exact, that he did not remember to have observed him once fail in it." *

Such were his humble thoughts of himself, and his respect for God's service, that "when he was solicited by the Earl of Clarendon to enter into Holy Orders, he did not think himself worthy; for he had so high a sense of the obligations, importance, and difficulty of the pastoral care, that he durst not undertake it: so solemnly and seriously did he judge of sacred matters."† He stood alone, however, in this modest opinion of his unfitness for the Priesthood. Many of his writings prove that he would have been an excellent divine, had he been so consecrated. One in particular raises the author far above the praise of that exalted philosophy, by which he unfolded the mysteries of the natural world. In his treatise of "*Seraphic Love, or Some motives to the love of God,*" he shows how God is the fittest Object of our love, and how He hath prepared for them that love Him "an ocean of felicity, so shoreless and so bottomless, that all the saints and angels cannot exhaust it."

Nor did he satisfy himself with these written testimonies of having dedicated his heart to God. His whole life was a practical example how a layman of noble birth may cultivate the graces of a saint in the midst of a profane and restless world; how the highest reach of intellect can bow itself down in simple faith before the unfathomable mysteries of Revelation. He showed also his great zeal for religion by printing at

* Ibid. p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 60.

his own expense the Holy Scriptures in the Malayan, Irish, and Welsh tongues; by founding the Incorporated Society for propagating the Gospel in New England, and other parts of America; and by his endowment of eight sermons annually for ever, to establish the truth of the Christian Religion.

It would be too long to enumerate his unbounded charities: we may leave the praise of his beneficence to Bishop Sanderson, who dedicated to him his Cases of Conscience, and speaks of him as his patron, illustrious not only for his rank, but still more for all christian virtues. This was the well merited tribute of a grateful heart: for when Robert Sanderson, himself so meek and merciful, and so great a lover of his King, (after being oppressed, plundered, wounded, and imprisoned by the Parliament troops) was reduced, with his wife and children, to great need and suffering, Mr. Boyle came to his relief, and without any solicitation bestowed upon him an annuity of £50; a generous and christian act, honourable alike to both.

It is no wonder, if Mr. Boyle should form the centre of a little circle of wise and good men, wherever he might be; and it was a great happiness for the University that he took up his abode in Oxford. His eminent qualities gained him a great respect from those in authority; and he was able in some degree to assuage the confusion and tyranny of the Covenanters, and "rebellious rout" who held sway in every college.

But the heat of persecution had now somewhat abated. The republicans, having possessed themselves of all the good things they could lay hands upon, left the

scholars very much to their own ways, so long as they were peaceable and quiet. This suited Ken's disposition; and he pursued his studies amid the confusion that surrounded him, not thinking it any part of his duty to enter into conflicts. He could be silent in his own thoughts, and enjoy the serenity of a well-ordered spirit. In 1657, within one year of his arrival in Oxford, he was admitted at New College. Besides Francis Turner and others, there were two youths at Oxford, of temper and habits congenial to his own, students of Christ Church, with whom he now formed a lasting friendship. One was Mr. Thomas Thynne, afterwards "in consideration of his great merits created Viscount Weymouth; a person of strict piety, honour, and integrity,"* — virtues which conferred upon him a higher claim to respect than his ancient descent. The other was George Hooper, of whom the celebrated Dr. Busby declared he was "the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and would make the best bishop, that ever was educated at Westminster school."†

It does not appear what degree of intimacy subsisted between Lord Weymouth and Ken for some years after they left college; the frequency of their intercourse was probably interrupted by the different spheres of life they were called to fill: but "in the reverses of Ken's lot, and the evening of his days, when he had no home upon earth," Weymouth testified

* Collin's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 266.

† Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 989.

the untiring fidelity of his attachment by affording him for twenty years an asylum at his noble mansion of Long Leat, where he closed his eyes.* Hooper and Ken were thrown together in every stage of their lives; one a learned Grecian and oriental scholar, the other as distinguished for his fascinating eloquence; fervent devoted Priests, alternately succeeding each other in their preferments, and both more solicitous for the other's advancement than their own.

We can hardly doubt that all three formed part of the resolute band in Oxford, who assembled together for prayer in the House of Thomas Willis, close by Merton College, when the Liturgy had been prohibited in the Churches and Chapels. Like the disciples of old, in their upper room, these trustful Christians "performed their devotions according to the Book of Common Prayer, none being admitted but their confidants. There they maintained the orders and rubric of the Church of England on all Lord's days, Holy days, and their Vigils, and administered the Holy Communion."† This was begun by that "great undervaluer of money," Dr. John Fell, also the eloquent John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York, and other divines; and was continued until the Restoration, to the great comfort and support of the afflicted Royalists. To believe, to trust, and to suffer, are privileges that can never be taken from Christ's faithful followers; to seek their happiness in a simple dedicating of them-

* Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 42.

† Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 795.

selfes to His will, to abide His time for eventual peace, and to repose on His sure word, is to triumph in the midst of slander and oppression.

Ken was a skilful player on the lute ; and did not betake himself so closely to his studies, but that he allowed himself an indulgence in his innocent recreation of music, for which “ he had an excellent genius.*” The organs, and choral services had been silenced by the usurpers : but there were many in Oxford who could not submit to change their countenances and manners at the word of command. Some of these formed themselves into musical parties under the facetious, and no less learned and loyal, Anthony à Wood, who enumerates the several performers, their instruments, and degrees of skill. He says “ Thomas Ken, of New College, a Junior, would be sometimes among them, and sing his part.”† Indeed it would appear that Vice Chancellor Owen, either affected the example of the Protector (“ who loved a good voice and instrumental music well”) or was really fond of music, for its own sake. About this time, he recalled Mr. John Wilson, the best player on the lute in all England, made him University Professor of Music, and assigned him a lodging in Balliol College. To his exertions and skill, and to those of William Ellis, the deprived organist of St. John’s, may be attributed in great measure the musical spirit that prevailed. Weekly meetings were held at their houses, and sometimes in the College chambers, where they got together

* Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 24.

† Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 125.

full bands of lutes, viols, (bass, tenor, counter-tenor and treble) lyra-viols, virginals, and even violins, which began now to be in fashion.

Thus time passed on, until all classes had learned to bewail the disquiet which England had brought on herself. The spirit of rebellion, and the death of their martyred king, had entailed upon the people their own heaviest punishment in a series of national crimes. Their phrenzy for liberty had resulted in the iron bondage of a military despotism. As they had shown no pity, they were in turn visited by justice without mercy. A bold impiety had taken from them all love of spiritual things. The Church being overthrown, they were given up alternately to profaneness and hypocrisy, and forced to perjure themselves with successive oaths, engagements, and covenants, under pretext of exalting the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ. Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, Antinomians, Socinians, Levelers, and Fifth-monarchy men, of whom many agreed only in hatred of the Church, and of each other, became at length weary of the burthen of their own manifold confusions.

In the midst of this desolation a release was providentially prepared by Him, who "weighs the nations in a balance." The coming deliverance was ushered in by the gorgeous pageantry of Cromwell's funeral. The discordant factions of the "Council of the Army," the "Council of State," and the "Committee of Safety" foretold the downfall of the Republic. Although the first symptoms of returning order were for some time faint and uncertain, and hopes and fears

agitated all minds, as the Parliament, or Lambert, or Monk, seemed to prevail, the secret counsels of the Royalists took at length a definite course. General Monk declaring himself openly for the King, the whole nation concurred in his joyful Restoration to the throne.

When Charles II. took possession of his palace at Whitehall, the memory of twenty years' sufferings was for a moment lost in the universal triumph. What then must have been the gladness of the University, when the King's Commissioners arrived at Christ Church to reinstate Morley, Fell, Dolben, Sanderfon, and others who had been expelled from their Colleges as "malignants and scandalous Recusants!" The voice of joy and thanksgiving, as of those who keep holiday, resounded in the College Halls. In every court and quadrangle were to be heard mutual congratulations of old friends, arriving one after the other to increase the general gladness.



CHAPTER IV.

*Ken appointed to the Living of Little Easton—resigns the cure
—Made Chaplain to Bishop Morley—Fellow of Winchester
College—Rector of Brightstone—Prebendary of Winchester
—Resigns Brightstone—Appointed to East Woodhay.*



OF the next two or three years of Ken's life few records are to be found. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts the 3rd of May, 1661, and that of Master the 21st of January, 1664.* Mr. Bowles suggests that he may have been Tutor of his College, which is not improbable. He might train the younger Wykehamists in the rules of Christian obedience, and at the same time mature his own theological studies. Of this last duty of preparation for Holy Orders no one could have a deeper sense.

And if at all times the Priest's office demands a spirit fully braced to his high calling, it was especially so at this period, when the English Church was brought into extreme peril. The return of kingly government had indeed hushed the storm in which she had well nigh been swept away: but if to our day, after two centuries, she bears the scars of her chastisement in the Rebellion, her wounds were then fresh and bleeding. Her discipline was relaxed, her doctrines

* Anthony à Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. pp. 140 and 158.

questioned, her services but partially restored, her revenues alienated, her unity broken into fragments. Above all, the people were tainted by a general disorder and profligacy, sifted through every grade of society by a civil war.

In this state of discord Ken had resolved to devote himself to the service of the Church, and **was ever** after found a courageous and watchful Pastor, remembering the Good Shepherd's injunction, "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." Oxford, freed from the turmoil of the Rebellion, was of all places best suited to his design. Here without interruption he could give himself to the pursuit of theology. The Bodleian, and his College library, afforded ample stores of reference beyond the reach of common students, especially the works of the primitive Fathers, those venerable pillars of the Church and champions of Catholic truth, from whom earnest-minded Christians of all times have drawn abundantly for their need. In these retreats, cultivating his natural talents by a judicious course of study, he matured himself for his future calling.

The serious happy time of receiving Holy Orders at length arrived. Having prepared himself by prayer, study, and chastisement of the will, to forsake the allurements and aims of the world, he attained to a humble "trust that he was inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of His glory, and the edifying of His people."* It is doubtful at

* Ordination Service.

what precise time he was ordained. A vain search has been made in the records of various Dioceses to discover the date. Hawkins does not inform us; Bowles supposes it to have been soon after he took his degree in 1661.* Wood intimates that it was after his Master's degree in 1664,† and that he was made Chaplain to Lord Maynard, as his first step to promotion. Bowles‡ and Wood§ say his first living was Brightstone in the Isle of Wight; Hawkins, East Woodhay in Hampshire.¶ The whole account is inaccurate. He was instituted on the presentation of William, Lord Maynard, to the Rectory of Little Easton, in the hundred of Dunmow in Essex, in 1663.¶¶ Wood seems to have mistaken this for an appointment as Chaplain. Hawkins does not mention the Chaplaincy, and there is no record of it in the Faculty office; on the contrary, we find an entry of the appointment of David Nichols, as Chaplain to Lord Maynard, in the preceding year, 28 April, 1662.

The Parish Church of Little Easton is just without the limits of the Park of Easton Lodge, the seat of Lord Maynard. Ken had the happiness to be supported in his endeavours for the good of his people by the countenance and example of the noble family at the Lodge. In his funeral sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard, twenty years afterwards, we have this testimony to the friendship that subsisted between them.

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. i. p. 91.

† *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Vol. i. p. 115.

§ Vol. ii. p. 989.

¶ *Life of Ken*, p. 6.

¶¶ "EASTON PARVA: P. Dunmow. Thomas Ken, 20 Aug. 1663. Wms. Doms. Maynard, Bⁿ. Easton." Records in the Faculty office.

“ Say, all you who have been eye-witnesses to her life, did you from her very cradle ever know her other than a gracious woman? *As to myself I have had the honour to know her near twenty years, and to be admitted to her most intimate thoughts*; and I cannot but think, upon the utmost of my observation, that she always preserved her baptismal innocence, and that she never committed any one mortal sin, which put her out of the state of grace.”*

From this eloquent sermon, in praise of his early friend, we gather valuable notices of his own ministry. When he applauds Lady Margaret for “ offering up to God, *morning and evening, the public services,*” he clearly indicates that he was himself in Church to lead them. He would surely not have reminded the people how “ *to prayers she added fasting, till her weakness made it impossible to her constitution,*” unless he had in his daily walk set them the example of a strict and austere life. When he speaks of her “ *enlarged devotions on the Fasts and Festivals of the Church,*” who but himself encouraged and assisted in them? If “ *she never failed on all opportunities to approach the Holy Altar,*” came with a spiritual hunger and thirst to that heavenly feast, and communicated with a lively and endearing remembrance of her crucified Saviour,” it was himself who opened those frequent approaches.

Would that the Clergy in this our day followed, as

* A SERMON preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Easton in Essex, on the 30th of June, 1682. On Prov. xi. 16. *A gracious Woman retaineth honour.* 4to.

he did, the primitive rule, enjoined by the Rubric, of daily service, and the celebration of the Fasts and Festivals, throughout the year. If men are to have their affections raised to something higher than this care-worn world, it must be through the consistent example of a devout, steadfast, abiding Clergy. How can the people be expected to obey the injunctions of the Church, if their Pastors maintain a contrary rule, after the varying standard of their own judgment and convenience? It is vain to preach to them the privileges of public worship, so long as the Priests themselves disobey, and keep their Church doors closed against the "little flock." There may on Sundays be a gathering of the refined and educated, brought up in a love of order, and willing to attend once a week, if only to set an example to their household and dependents. But the poor, the labourer, the rude uncultivated mass, — still more the sabbath-breaker, the drunkard, the licentious and unbelieving, will never be converted from the power of evil under a languid inexpressive system, such as now prevails in the majority of our Parishes.

The lower orders of the people have a keen sense of the nonconformity of those set over them, and of *their equal right to adopt their own measure of obedience*. Many perhaps could not, or would not at first, attend the daily services, or observe the festivals, even if offered to them; yet they can appreciate the affectionate untiring zeal of their Clergy in giving them the opportunity. Of this we have a touching example in "some of the meaner sort" of George Herbert's parish, "who did so love and reverence him, that they would let their plough rest when his Saints-bell

rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.* And what, if there be some within the parish who secretly sigh after the absent services, and are debarred from the sympathy of common prayer? what, if the aged and infirm, or the suffering, or the penitent, long to wend their way to the sanctuary—and may not? Who shall bear the reproach? or who render the account?

Ken says, “Lady Margaret, when she came home from Church, recollected and wrote out of her memory abstracts of all the sermons she heard, which are in great numbers amongst her papers.” Search has been made without success for these abstracts. If we may judge from Ken's few discourses that are extant, they would have deserved the praise bestowed on Lactantius, of a divine fluent excellence, favouring of a mind that was truly mortified, and intended to bring his auditors to a resolved course of sanctification and piety.† Certain it is they helped to animate Lady Margaret with “so divine a spirit, with such ardours of devo-

* Walton's *Life of George Herbert*.

† *The Glory of their Times; or, Lives of the Primitive Fathers.* 1640. 8vo. p. 152.

tion and charity, as might have become a Proba or a Monica.”*

It was no slight testimony to Ken's worth to have gained, at that early age, the friendship of such a man as Lord Maynard, whose unbending loyalty and firm adherence to the fortunes of the King had exposed him to the violence of Cromwell. Though his zeal in the royal cause had brought upon him an impeachment by the Parliament in 1647,† he was one of the small but fearless number of Peers who met in their House, and unanimously refused to concur with the Commons in their resolution to bring Charles to a public trial. Lord Maynard's great authority at Court after the Restoration may have had some influence on Ken's later advancement: but his merits were too well known both at Oxford and Winchester to permit his remaining long in the retirement of Little Easton. Besides, it was natural that Izaak Walton, the friend of Morton, Sanderfon, Duppa and other Prelates, above all of the munificent and virtuous Morley, should see his brother Ken called to a more extended post of duty.

Notwithstanding their different spheres of life, a warm and lasting attachment subsisted between Morley and Walton. They were united not only by a perfect harmony of tempers, but by an agreement of opinion on subjects of deepest interest to them, as Christian men,—by the same enduring loyalty, the same studi-

* Ken's Sermon, preached at the Funeral of Lady Margaret Maynard, 1682.

† Collin's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 491.

ous devout course of life. Walton was at this time, and had been for several years, either at Worcester or Winchester, the constant and familiar inmate of the Bishop's Palace.* Under his roof he wrote the *Lives* of Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Bishop Sanderson, revised his former *Lives* of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wootton, and also enlarged his *Compleat Angler* in the fifth and last edition.

Here, we may believe, Ken had often found a welcome in the intervals of his later studies at Oxford. His humble religious disposition, simple manners, and lively conversation, could not but attract the Bishop's esteem, as they had won the confidence of others. Wherever he had been he had behaved himself wisely, for he loved his Master's service: this was the secret spring of his gradual rising to greater eminence in the Church than even those who aided in his advancement.

Having retained the Rectory of Little Easton for two years, he resigned it into the hands of his friend Lord Maynard, on the 19th of April, 1665. It was now, perhaps, that Bishop Morley called him to Winchester, and made him his own Chaplain. Wood† and Hawkins‡ say 1667; but their dates are in other respects so faulty, they cannot be trusted. And probably this was the period when he first undertook the gratuitous cure of St. John's, a forsaken Parish in the Soke at Winchester, which also some years

* Bishop Morley was consecrated to Worcester, 18th October, 1660, and translated to Winchester in 1662.

† Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 6.

afterwards appears to have formed part of his laborious duties.

Anthony Wood says of Ken's Oxford life, that "his towardliness towards good letters and virtue were observed by the Seniors : " so at Winchester he gained golden opinions from all; and on the 8th of December, 1666, he was unanimously elected a Fellow of that College, resigning, of course his Oxford Fellowship.* " There his most exemplary goodness and piety did eminently exert itself; for that College being chiefly designed by its Founder for a retired and studious life, what could a great and generous spirit propose but the good of souls, and the glory of that God, to whom he constantly ascribed it, even in his most familiar letters. For '*Glory to God*' was his constant Prescript to all his letters and papers."† But a recluse life was foreign to the bent of his desires. Some responsible work in the cure of souls was better adapted to one so loving and zealous, and so highly gifted. The Bishop, therefore, on the 6th of July, 1667,‡ collated him to the Rectory of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight, a cheerful little village, about four miles from Carisbrook Castle, with a goodly Church, and a near prospect of the sea, sheltered from cold winds by over-hanging hills.

There, removed from the observation of all but his small confiding flock, he again exercised himself in the duties of the Christian ministry, persuading men to the fear of God, and converting them from the power of

* Records of Winchester College.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 4.

‡ Books of the Public Record Office.

sin to the free love of their Heavenly Father. If there be joy in the presence of the Angels over one sinner that repenteth, what shall it be to a faithful, enduring priest to meet that soul in Heaven, saved by his holy counsels, his example, and his prayers! No voice, perhaps, may proclaim his praise on earth,—not even gratitude repay his service: yet when the Lamb shall open the Seals, and *that one* be found written “in the book of remembrance,” as having feared the Lord, and thought upon His Name,—then he that was turned to righteousness, and he that was the happy instrument, “shall be Mine, saith the Lord, in the day when I make up My jewels.”

Bishop Morley exacted a strict obedience to the Rubric in regard to daily prayers, and the observance of the Fasts and Festivals throughout his Diocese: we are not, therefore, left to surmise whether Ken's practice was the same here as at Little Easton. It would appear that his Parish duties were sometimes interrupted by his attendance on the Bishop in his palace at Chelsea. We have occasional notices of him there in the Diary of the pious Lady Warwick, who also had a house at Chelsea, and attended the services at the Old Church.

“*Easter Day, 7th April, 1667.* Went to Church, when I heard Mr. Ken preach; his text was 1. John, ch. 3. v. 3. ‘And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as He is pure.’ I was very attentive at the sermon, and moved by it: when the sermon was done, I found my heart exceedingly to long after the blessed feast: and when I remembered the sufferings of my Saviour I did weep bitterly,

and with great earnestness begged of God to give me Christ; my heart was much carried out to bless God, and I had there such sweet communion with Him, that I could say it was good for me to be there.”*

“*Sunday, 22nd December, 1667.* After I came home in the evening from hearing Mr. Ken, God was pleased to move my heart to speak to my Lord about things of everlasting concernment; and I was enabled, in an awakened frame of spirit, to persuade him to repentance, and to make his peace with God.”†

“*Christmas, 25th December, 1667.* In the afternoon Mr. Ken preached: his text was ‘For this cause was the Son of God manifested, that He might destroy the works of the Devil.’ I was attentive and affected at the Sermon. I did in discourse with the young ladies warn them to be careful to keep their engagements made to God at the Sacrament.”‡

“*Sunday, 9th February, 1668.* I went to Church to hear Mr. Ken preach; his text was ‘Behold thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come on thee.’ It was a very good sermon, and God was pleased much to affect my heart with it; and whilst he was preaching upon that passage ‘sin no more,’ God was pleased to make me, with strong desires and many tears, to beg power against sin for the time to come.”§

Only two short years this holy messenger delivered the glad tidings of peace, and administered the Church’s services to the comfort of his people at Brightstone.

* Memoir of Lady Warwick, and her Diary, 1847, 12mo. p. 107.

† Ibid. p. 138.

‡ Ibid. p. 140.

§ Ibid. p. 146.

Bishop Morley called him back to Winchester: for “without any application made on his behalf he preferred him to the dignity of Prebendary in the Cathedral Church in Winton, and he was installed accordingly, April 12, 1669.”* In the following month, that he might have him nearer to his own person, the Bishop gave him the Rectory of East Woodhay, vacant by the removal of Robert Sharrock.

It was inconsistent with Ken's views of the ministerial office to hold more than one living, though it was then a common custom. On the very day of his being collated to Woodhay, the 28th of May, 1669, he resigned Brightstone into the hands of the Bishop, who appointed the Rev. John Fitzwilliam, his successor. “*Bishop Ken's yew hedge*” is still shown as a cherished memorial, in the Rectory garden: his name imparts to the Church and village “a sweet flavour of holy things.”

He held the living of Woodhay from the 28th of May, 1669, to the 8th of November, 1672, fulfilling the offices of his cure with the same devotedness as at Brightstone and Little Easton,—with the same affectionate care for the spiritual and bodily wants of his people, the same diligence in visiting, catechizing, reading the scriptures and preaching to them,—the same zeal in gaining by whatever means precious souls to God—the same ascetic life, which was “a continual death to animal appetites.” In the Parish register of Woodhay is an entry of the Baptism of “Rose Ken, daughter of Mr. Jon Ken, born 23rd June, 1670.”

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 6.

Jon Ken was his elder brother, married to Rose Vernon; and from this it would seem that our Thomas Ken (himself unalterably dedicated to a single life) had the society of his brother's family in the Parsonage house.

The dates of Ken's preferments have been given with this precision, because his biographers are not accurate in the order of them. Hawkins says "soon after he was Fellow of Winchester College, Dr. George Morley, then Bishop of that Diocese, presented him to the Parsonage of Woodhay in Hampshire,"* omitting his previous appointment to Brightstone. Wood assumes that "after he had held Woodhay a little while he resigned it into his Lordship's hands, under the pretence of conscience, thinking he had enough without it,"† meaning that he still retained Brightstone. Bowles, adopting this error, says "though a Fellow of a College, and a dignitary of a Cathedral, he was a pluralist into the bargain; but soon after being presented to Woodhay, he resigned it though tenable with Brightstone," supposing that he held this last *after* Woodhay, instead of before.

In fact, Ken declined any pastoral cure, the duties of which he could not personally perform. There was no anxious activity to accumulate benefices to himself. He no doubt agreed in opinion with zealous Bernard Gilpin, who declared "though any other should preach and teach for me as constantly and industriously as St. Augustine did, yet I cannot think myself discharged by another man's painstaking."‡


* Life, p. 6.

† Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Kidder's Life of Anthony Horneck.

CHAPTER V.

Ken resigns the Rectory of Woodhay. His character as a Country Parson. Mr. Izaak Milles of Highclere—Character of Bishop Morley. Ken's duties at Winchester.

HE probable occasion of his resigning Woodhay was the desire of the Bishop, now advancing in years, to secure his undivided services and society at Winchester; for the labours of the Diocese required such an assistant. Moreover, he designed the living for George Hooper, already a Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Of Hooper's learning it is sufficient to say that "he studied the oriental languages (in which as well as the mathematics he was a great master) under Dr. Pocock, with whom he used to correspond on that subject by letters. And when he was removed from Oxford to London, the Rabbis of the Synagogue there used to bring him anything that was curious in that way."* Of his piety, a long consistent and devoted life, public and private, is the best of all testimonies.

The Bishop had written to Hooper two years before to request that he would be his chaplain. "I dare not," he says, "do a man of your parts and hopes so great an injury as to take you from what you have at Christ Church (which Mr. Dean tells me is very con-

* MS. Memoir of Dr. Hooper, by his daughter, Mrs. Prowse: in the possession of Lady Mordaunt.

siderable) before I have anything to give you in lieu of it. I shall therefore for your sake, and for your sake only, defer the contentment I expect and promise myself from your being with me, until something or other falls in my gift, which may secure you and me, so that we shall not have cause to repent of it. In the mean time I do assure you that, if you will keep yourself for me, I will keep myself for you, without taking or thinking of any other Chaplain besides him I have already. Farewell, and pray for your loving friend,
GEO. WINTON.*

Chelsey, May, 1670.

In 1672 a vacancy occurring at Havant in Hampshire, which was in the Bishop's gift, he bestowed it on Hooper, and appointed him his Chaplain. It was an unhealthy place, and on taking possession he got the ague: so it was agreed among them all that Ken should resign Woodhay to his friend, and transfer himself to Winchester.

It was a great comfort to him to have one he so much loved as his successor; yet he felt the pain of separating from his parishioners. Common observers can hardly appreciate the passionate desire of a devoted energetic Priest to advance his people in their conformity to God's law. His life is one zealous effort for their soul's sake; he does all to lead them in safety through the mazes of a tangled world; and tries every expedient to open to their view the realities that lie beyond. Early and late he watches over them with a tender care—encourages the fearful,

* Prowse MS.

quickens the loiterers, reproves the dissolute and profane, counsels the doubtful, relieves the poor, gathers alms from the rich, reconciles all who differ—endeavours by exhortations, prayers and sacraments to raise them to the perfect standard of Christian love.

Such was holy Ken at Little Easton, Brightstone, and Woodhay,—the zealous affectionate guide of his flock, like an angel bearing to them the message of truth, impelled by the noblest motives to refine them from all sin, and make them aspire to a holiness kindred with his own. In one of his poems he gives a picture of what he considers a Pastor of Christ ought to be : in every line we may trace his own undesigned portrait.

“ Give me the Priest these graces shall possess,—
Of an ambassador the just address :

A fathers tenderness, a shepherds care,
A leaders courage, which the Cross can bear ;
A rulers awe, a watchmans wakeful eye,
A pilots skill the helm in storms to ply ;
A fishers patience, and a labourers toil,
A guides dexterity to disembroil ;
A prophets inspiration from above,
A teachers knowledge and a Saviour's love.
Give me the Priest, a light upon a hill,
Whose rays his whole circumference can fill ;
In Gods own word and sacred learning vers'd,
Deep in the study of the heart immers'd ;
Who in sick souls can the disease descry,
And wisely for restoratives apply.
To beatific pastures leads his sheep,
Watchful from hellish wolves his fold to keep ;
Who seeks not a convenience, but a cure,
Would rather souls than his own gain ensure.
Instructive in his visits and converse,
Strives every where salvation to disperse ;

Of a mild, humble, and obliging heart,
Who *with his all* does to the needy part;
Distrustful of himself, in God confides,
Daily himself among his flock divides.
Of virtue uniform, and cheerful air,
Fix'd meditation, and incessant prayer,
Affections mortified, well guided zeal,
Of saving truth the relish wont to feel;
Whose province, Heaven, all his endeavour shares,
Who mixes with no secular affairs,
Oft on his pastoral amount reflects,
By holiness, not riches, gains respects;
Who is all that he would have others be,
From wilful sin, though not from frailty free;
Who still keeps Jesus in his heart and head,
Who strives in steps of our Arch Priest to tread,
Who can himself and all the world deny,
Lives pilgrim here, but denizen on high!"

The age in which we live is cold and Eraftian, to say the least. Men shrink from the noble boldness of a fervent zeal. The fire of the altar still burns dim, and spiritual affections have not yet pierced the clouds that for a century and a half have obscured in the Church of England the light of a living faith. It may be, therefore, that Ken's faintly character will fail to awaken in us any vivid interest. Glimmerings there are, however, of a brighter dawn, and the tokens of God's returning presence in His Church. He has raised up, within our time, a new order of men, who amidst the scorn and opposition of a wayward world partake of the aspirations of a primitive piety like that of Ken. The hearts of their flocks begin to kindle from their fervour. We heartily pray that God may speed them, and keep them all steadfast and immovable to the

Church of England, into which they have been baptized, to the glory of His great Name Whom they serve.

We are able to give one example at least of the permanent influence of Ken's pastoral life on that of his brethren. Next to his Parish of Woodhay is Highclere, in Hampshire. Here lived a village Priest, a humble schoolmaster, whose name is scarcely rescued from oblivion. His course was like a hidden stream, fertilizing the banks along which it flows, and traced by the rich herbage and the flowers that spring beside it. His Rectory was worth a hundred pounds a year; —“ the country barren and the people poor : ”* and there he tended his little flock for thirty nine years.† He was not remarkable for the austerity of his life, or for any rare endowments of mind, though learned in the Hebrew and Greek languages. Of simple manners, and with a gentle and obliging temper that never lost him a friend, or made him an enemy, he was so indulgent to the faults of others, that “ he would often rise up and leave the company, rather than hear even a bad man reproached behind his back ; so hospitable, that he used to be much displeased if any poor person was sent from his house without tasting a cup of his ale.”‡

Even the way-worn “ pedlars were always welcome to him, and relieved of their packs, and lodged for the

* An Account of the Life and Conversation of the Reverend and worthy Mr. Isaac Milles, late Rector of Highclere, in Hampshire. 8vo. 1721, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 82.

‡ Ibid. p. 131.

night in his barn, when he would himself sometimes take care that they had clean straw, and enough of it, and eat and drink as much as they pleased with his servants."* "No beggar, or other person in want, came to his door for relief, who did not receive there an alms, either of money, or victuals, or clothes, and sometimes of all." Though he was often, from the guilelessness of his heart, deceived by bad men, "he valued it not," nor allowed himself to be weary in well doing.

While thus generous to needy strangers, he was the common father of his own parishioners, and especially "a constant visitant by the bed-side of the sick and dying," administering spiritual and temporal comfort to all. For their sakes "he turned a perfect beggar, in order to get from others something to supply their wants;" so that both parties might be enriched, the receiver here, the giver hereafter; and "he always added what he could from his own little stock, but concealed his portion,"† that he might appear the happy almoner of others. These were the rich fruit that a good man bringeth forth out of the good treasure of his heart,—Christian graces, works of love—the sweetest incense that can be offered up to Heaven.

Nor did these labours, and his conscientious care of his scholars, prevent his constant study of the holy Scriptures (which he used to read in the original languages) or hinder his life of prayer: for besides his family devotions "*he used to walk every day in the*

* Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, p. 131.

† Ibid. p. 132.

ment, not only gained the entire affections of all ; but set an example by the imitation of which they might greatly have advanced the interest of our poor Church.”*

Ken's duties as Fellow of Winchester College, and his Prebend in the Cathedral, might alone have induced his return to Winchester : but when to these were added the society and guidance of such a man as Bishop Morley, we cannot wonder at his accepting the invitation to be more immediately about his person. This learned and self-denying Prelate, who lived as if for others rather than himself, was a bright example of loyalty in perilous times. In 1646 he had been selected by Charles I. with Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderfon, and Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, to attend him as a council of advice in his conferences with the Parliamentary Commissioners for a peace in Church and State. In the following year he was one of the Delegates appointed by the University of Oxford to draw up their Reasons for not submitting to the League and Covenant, Negative Oaths, and other Ordinances of the Parliament.

He had rendered himself obnoxious to the Republicans by his constancy to his friend, the loyal and brave Lord Capel, not shrinking from attendance upon him even to the scaffold. Capel had been taken prisoner by the rebels at the siege of Colchester, with Lord Lucas and Sir George Lisle. When his two companions were condemned to be shot, he petitioned in vain that he also might receive a soldier's honourable death. He was reserved for a public trial

* Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, p. 93.

and execution, at both of which he behaved with an undaunted bearing. To the last he declared his readiness to die for the King's service, and for that Church, in whose bosom he was born and bred, and which he thought to be the best in the world.* He desired his heart to be enclosed in a silver box, and at some future time to be laid in the tomb at the feet of his Royal Master. Morley was one of the few who bore him company, fearless of all consequences to himself, that he might minister strength and consolation to his friend in the hour of need.†

Notwithstanding this, and his known attachment to the Royal cause, when the Republican visitors came to Oxford, Morley had an offer from a secret friend, "one of the Grandees of the House of Commons," to retain his Canonry of Christ church, without being compelled to say or subscribe any thing against his conscience, if he would but give his word not to appear against them or their proceedings. Izaak Walton was the bearer of this message, being desired to write to Morley, and recommend him "to ride out of Oxford, when the visitors came, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety, and should, without taking any oath, or other molestation, enjoy his Canon's place in his College." Morley replied that he could not accept the intended kindness; "for when the Dean, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sanderfon, and all the

* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.

† Excellent Contemplations, &c. of Arthur, Lord Capel, with some account of his life. 12mo. 1683, p. 142.

reft of the College (including Mr. John Fell) were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a fin, yet a fhame, to be left behind with him only.”*

After the King’s death, Morley retired to Holland to attend on Charles II., and was one of his moft faithful adherents during the exile. For many years fucceffively at Antwerp, the Hague, and Breda, “ he *read the Service of the Church twice every day*, catechized once a week, and adminiftered the Communion once a month to all the Englifh who would come to it, without receiving or expecting any reward.”†

Mr. Bowles imagines that Dr. Morley, after his rejection from Chrift church, and the death of the King, fought a refuge from his perfecutors in Walton’s cottage, in Staffordfhire. He gives a pleasing converfation, in which he fupposes the two friends may have comforted each other amid the dark tempeft of the times. The fcene is laid in the fmall garden plot, before the door of the cottage, not far from Stafford. It is a beautiful evening in fpring, and Izaak, juft returned from angling, finds his beloved Kenna (Ken’s fifter) and their child, and Dr. Morley, feated in a honey-fuckle arbour. After fome difcourfe on the death of the Royal Martyr, and Morley’s intention to join Charles II. in Holland, they take affectionate leave of each other, and Morley promifes never

* Walton’s *Life of Sanderfon*: and Walker’s *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

† Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 770.

to forget the happy and improving hours he had spent in this retirement.*

Sir Harris Nicolas, the careful biographer of Walton, says "it is always painful to destroy the fabrics of genius; but biography is not a proper field for the flights of poesy; and however pleasing might be such an episode in the life of Walton, as his having afforded shelter to the venerable Morley, in his adversity, contrasting, as it would forcibly have done, with Walton's having passed the latter years of his life in the episcopal residences of that eminent person, it must nevertheless be said that there is no evidence that Morley ever visited Walton in Staffordshire, or that he was indebted to him for any particular services."†

The esteem of such a Prelate conferred an honourable distinction on his Chaplain, which is now reflected back on Morley's name in the brighter rays of Ken's lustre. Their friendship was cemented by a mutual attachment to Izaak Walton (then in his 80th year) the humble guest of the Bishop, and the venerable friend of his Chaplain. The Palace at Winchester was not very long enlivened by the presence of the other Chaplain, George Hooper; "for Archbishop Sheldon dining one day at Chelsey with the Bishop, told him he had a request to make him, which was to give him something he valued, or to that effect. On the Bishop's telling his Grace that it should be at his

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. i. p. 97.

† Preface to Pickering's Edition of Walton and Cotton's Complete Angler.

service, the Archbishop then told him it was his Chaplain, Mr. Hooper, who he was very sorry to part with, but expressed great willingness to do it, as he thought it would be for the good of the Church, and an advantage to Mr. H., who accordingly removed to Lambeth House. Bishop Morley ever retained a great regard for him, inasmuch that he sent for him to attend him on his death bed."* In this last office, as we shall afterwards see, he was assisted by Ken. They were thus united in ministering once more to their spiritual father, whose departure from this world, though it discharged them from the bond of a common duty towards him, did not dissolve their friendship. For, as brethren in the service of a heavenly Master, they are for ever part of an innumerable host. An undefinable and mysterious communion knits them together with the spirits of saints, with angels, and with Christ Himself, who died to exalt them to His heavenly court. All in every place have the secret witness that as they are one in the gift of life, so their thoughts, their hopes, their fears, their burthens and rejoicings, are united before the eternal Throne.

The state of the Church of England at this period presented fearful symptoms of a decay that increased as time went on. It was therefore a great benefit to Ken to have the counsel of such a Prelate, after whose example he might safely model his own ministry. Bishop Morley was incessant in all the duties of his public and private life, in prayer and fasting, in works of mercy to the poor, of munificence for the benefit

* MSS. *Life of Hooper*, by Mrs. Prowse.

and dignity of his successors; simple in his manners, zealous for the honour of God, self-denying amidst a frivolous and dissipated Court, vigilant, energetic, and bold in all difficulties and dangers.

In the same temper of mind Ken advanced to the same station. His offices of Fellow of Winchester College, Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Bishop were not occupation enough for a mind intent on bringing men to Christ. He could not rest without some parochial charge; and having before served the neglected district of St. John in the Soke, he still found it without a pastor and the hearts of the people turned from the Church by the contentious spirit of Anabaptists. With the consent of his Bishop he undertook the gratuitous cure. His disregard of money was a prominent feature in his character; the fulfilment of the pastoral office was the one simple desire that governed his actions,—“well done, good and faithful servant” the one reward he looked to.

To the poor of St. John's, therefore, he devoted his best energies. The influence of his love, and zeal, and knowledge of the human heart, were heightened by the fervour of his eloquence. If by any powers of the Christian orator he might move men to holiness, he would fain employ them all in the great cause. He did not therefore undervalue this accomplishment; but followed the footsteps of the most pious and laborious Fathers and confessors of the primitive Church. Their impassioned oratory was not addressed to the feelings of their hearers to rouse them to mere religious excitement, and transient impulse, but to sever their tenacious grasp on worldly things,—to call them out

of the din of emulations and strife, and the absorbing cares of a secular life. Vehement, stern, persuasive, and loving, they alternately shook men "by the terror of the Lord," and melted them by the mercies and hopes of the Gospel.

St. Chrysostom, whose eloquence was compared to a golden river, every where praises St. Paul for his skill in moving men's hearts to the fear and love of God. "Thus instructed," he says, "and walking in the steps of his master, Paul hath varied his discourse according to the need of his disciples, at one time using knife and cautery, at another applying mild remedies," &c. And thus also Ken omitted no force of persuasion to awaken his hearers from their dull insensibility, and to draw them out from sin and schism. He reaped the rich reward of his labours in gathering many into the bosom of the Church.

If one might be tempted to give in its fulness his exposition of the Sacrament of Baptism in his '*Practice of Divine Love*,' published many years afterwards, it would exhibit his view of its vital efficacy, and the power of his eloquence to bring men to a just sense of its blessedness. There is not, perhaps, in our language a more valuable testimony to the doctrine of Regeneration in that Holy Sacrament, as "raising us from a death unto sin, to a new life, and breathing into us the breath of love." "In this Laver of Regeneration (he says) we are born again by Water and the Spirit; by a new birth unto righteousness: that as the natural birth propagated sin, our spiritual birth should propagate grace. Christ in our Baptism doth give us the holy spirit of love, to be the principle of a

new life in us, to infuse into our souls a supernatural, habitual grace, and ability to serve and love Him. It was His compassionate love, that when we were conceived and born in sin, of sinful parents, when we sprung from a root wholly corrupt, and were all children of wrath, made us, in our Baptism, children of His own Heavenly Father by adoption and grace : when we were heirs of Hell, made us heirs of Heaven, even joint heirs with His own self of His own glory.”*

The inhabitants of the Soke crowded to the Church of St. John, to hear the words of wisdom that flowed from the lips of their humble Curate, as in a later period, when he became a Bishop, the Courtiers of the palace thronged the Chapel of St. James’s to receive his more authoritative lessons. The word of God cannot return to Him void ; His Kingdom must in the end stretch forth on the right hand and on the left, for they have a spiritual life. Ken was the happy instrument of contributing to this great design of unity by converting many of his sectarian hearers to the Church of England, especially amongst the Anabaptists, whom he convinced of their errors, making them to become as little children, himself baptizing them into the congregation of Christ’s flock.†

Such were his unwearied patience and charity in his pastoral cares ; the kindest of men towards others, himself mortified to all worldly pleasures, and afraid of nothing so much as a soft luxurious life, he was

* Ken’s Exposition of the Church Catechism. 2nd Edition, 8vo. 1686, p. 136.

† Hawkins, p. 4.

disciplined to untiring exertions for the spread of divine truth. He seemed to realize Bishop Taylor's prayer: "Oh give me the spirit of mortification and humility, that I may be gentle to others, and severe to myself." His biographer, Hawkins, describes that "in the evening, when he loved to enjoy the society of his friends, he was so worn down with the exertions and fatigue of the day, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then seemed only to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigour and chearfulness to sing his Morning Hymn."—"And that neither his study might be the aggressor on his hours of instruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; of both interrupt his closet addresses to his God, he strictly accustomed himself to but one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two of the clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner; and this grew so habitual that it continued with him almost till his last illness."*

* Hawkins, p. 5.

CHAPTER V.

Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester scholars — His Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns — The Original Melody of the Hymns — The Court of Charles II. at Winchester.



WE may well believe that Ken, as a Winchester boy, had set a good example to others: and now, as a Fellow of the College, his desire to preserve the scholars from the fascinating power of the world, and to train them to holiness, prompted him to compose a *Manual of Prayers* for their daily use. He could not offer a more lasting memorial of his attachment to those early scenes of his youth, or of his care for future Wykehamists. It is a message to them of earnest love: it warns them of the deceitful pitfalls that surround their path, and allures them to virtue by every holy motive, and by the most eminent examples of early piety recorded in the scriptures. "Do but consider," he says, "how welcome a young convert is to God: it was to young Samuel that God revealed Himself, and that at such a time too, when the word of God was precious and very rare, to show how much God honoured a young prophet; and you know that St. John, the youngest of all the disciples, is the only person of all the twelve, who was permitted to lean on our Saviour's bosom at the last supper, as dearest to Him in affection, and who is emphatically called the disciple

whom Jesus loved : and this is suitable to that gracious promise, which God made to encourage all young persons to serve Him ; *I love them that love Me ; and they that seek Me early shall find Me.*"*

To all true Wykehamists this little book must be peculiarly attractive. It is so full of affectionate counsel, encouragement and persuasion, of prayers suited to the age and circumstances of the scholars, that it could only be the work of one who had exhibited in his own person the example of a school boy, dedicating his tender years to the service of God. The whole *Manual* is a type of his own mind. For the morning, and the noonday, for the evening, and for midnight, he gives them devout ejaculations and prayers, solemn counsel, encouragement and warning. At every turn ; "in their own chambers, in school, in hall, in Chapel, on their first waking, at going to bed, before and after reading holy scripture, between first and second peal, when they go *Circum*,† in temptation, after sin committed, after any blessing or deliverance, at giving alms, before, and in, and after Church : " nothing escapes his earnest desire to make them heavenly minded. Above all he prepares them for the Holy Communion. He tells them they " must look through the outward elements, and fix their faith on that which they signify, the inward and invisible grace, even Christ's own blessed Body and Blood, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, not to be carnally understood, for they are spirit and they are.

* *Manual*, Ed. 1675, p. 2.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

life."* He teaches them to believe "His Body and Blood to be as really present in the Holy Sacrament as His divine power can make it, though the manner of His mysterious presence they cannot comprehend;" and to say "the Bread we break and the Cup we drink are not bare signs only, but the real communication of Thy Body and Thy Blood, and pledges to assure me of it; and I verily believe that if with due preparation I come to Thy Altar, as certainly as I receive the outward signs, so certainly shall I receive the thing signified, even Thy most blessed Body and Blood."†

His biographers, except Mr. Markland, are inaccurate as to the date of this, his first publication. Hawkins says it was "composed and published about the time that Bishop Morley made him his domestic Chaplain, and presented him to the parsonage of Woodhay," which he intimates to have been in 1669. This is much too early; for it was certainly first printed two years after his resignation of Woodhay, and his return to Winchester, when as Fellow of the College he observed the temptations to which the Scholars were exposed. Wood dates it as late as 1681: this is equally incorrect; for we have now before us an edition of 1675, a small 12mo. and this is not the earliest.

In Robert Clavel's "General Catalogue of Books printed since the dreadful Fire of London in 1666 to the end of Trinity term 1674," and at page 15, under

* Manual, p. 42.

† Ibid. p. 43.

the head of "Divinity in large Octavo, price of each 6d." and quite at the end of the list, we have the following entry, "*A Manual of Prayers and Devotions for the use of the scollars at Winchester School, and all young people: printed for J. Martyn.*" This fixes the first publication in 1674. In the books of the Stationers' Company Charles Brome, on the 3rd of May 1680, entered a copy "entituled A Manual of Prayer for the use of the Schollars of Winchester School:" this we may presume was the third Edition. The Fourth appeared in 1681, and is that referred to by Wood: it is a small 12mo. being "for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, and all other devout Cbristians."

The next edition we met with (also in 12mo.) is dated 1687: this was after he became Bishop, and when his opinions were held by all to be a high authority in doctrine. It is said in the title to be *Revised*, which expression deserves particular notice. Fortunately the Manual did not escape censure during the life of the Author. The Roman Catholics cited one passage as if it gave countenance to their Trent doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. I say fortunately, because it called forth a valuable testimony of his faithfulness to the belief of the Anglican Church. He introduces this revised Edition of 1687, by the following

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas a late Popish Pamphlet has injuriously affirmed that, in a Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, I have taught the Scholars of Winchester to invoke the whole Court of

Heaven, citing these words, page 93, "Help me, then, O ye blessed Host of Heaven," &c. I think myself obliged to declare that by that apostrophe, I did no more intend the Popish Invocation of Saints and Angels, than the holy Psalmist did, when he calls upon the Sun, Moon and Stars, Fire, Hail and Snow, &c. to praise God, Pf. 148; and to prevent all future misinterpretations, I have altered, not the sense, but the words of that paragraph, and I do solemnly profess that I believe the Invocation of Saints and Angels, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, to be "*a fond thing, vainly invented, grounded on no warranty of scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God,*" as the xxii Article of the Church of England styles it, to whose judgment I humbly submit.

THO. *Bath and Wells.**

The original and revised passages, when collated, will show the subject of the "injurious" criticism, and its explanation.

Ed. 1681.

"Help me, then, O blessed Host of Heaven to celebrate that unknown sorrow, that wonderful Love which you yourselves so much admire, help me to praise my crucified Saviour."

1687 Revised.

"O ye blessed Host of Heaven, who rejoice at the conversion of one single sinner, adore and praise my crucified Saviour, who dyed for the sins of the world; adore and praise that unknown sorrow, that wonderful Love, which you yourselves must needs admire."

* This Edition of 1687 appears to be the first published with his name.

Thus the Roman Catholic writers of the day gained nothing by their attempt to appropriate Ken's authority to their errors. He never relaxed his steadfast adherence to the doctrines he solemnly professed on entering Holy Orders. No one could have a keener perception of the difference between supplicating the Angels, and believing that they have received a holy charge to tend the flock of the "Good Shepherd." Whilst he repudiated the former as a fond thing, he knew that "the services of angels have been ordained and constituted in a wonderful order," and that the Church prays to God that "they may by His appointment succour and defend us on earth."* This comfortable and blessed doctrine is fully enunciated throughout his hymns and other poems. To give only one example out of many;—in his "*Hymns for all the Festivals of the year*" that on St. Michael and all Angels† may suffice to show how habitually he realized their unseen presence, as a link in the chain of communion between God and man. He describes them as living in the beatific light of the heavenly spheres; their pure wills, and unchangeable love, their untiring zeal, expressed in hymns sung to their celestial lyres; their conquests over Satan and his fallen angels; their attendance on Abraham, Lot, Elijah, Daniel, &c., on Christ in the wilderness, in his agony, &c.;

" You kept the grave, where He reposed;
His glorious rising you disclos'd;

* Collect for the Festival of St. Michael and all Angels.

† Ken's Poems, vol i. p. 384.

You to the mountain went,
Attending His Ascent,
You shall the trump to Judgement found,
And with obsequious wings the Judge surround."

They ministered to St. Peter and St. Paul, and now
are faithful guides to all devout worshippers. They
join with our assemblies in prayer and hymns :

" You in God's house *Trisagions* sing,
You veil your rays with awful wing,
Our temples you frequent,
Devotion to foment,
God's boundless wisdom there to hear,
Mysterious truths to learn, and to revere."

He affirms that they are cognizant of all our ways,
chide our neglect, animate our hearts to holy love, as-
sist and befriend us in temptation, glory in our con-
version, and encircle the beds of saints. They befriend
the Church of Christ, as ready watchers to counterwork
the evil influence of the great Usurper and his legions,
who conspire to delude, beguile, and pollute mankind.
They always behold, and adore, and love, and hymn
the Lamb ; fly to execute His decrees on obdurate sin-
ners, to encourage the devotions of believers, and in
all our necessities dispense their heavenly aid.

" To work our bliss, to guard from woe,
You the expanse pass hourly to and fro.
You on the heirs of Heaven attend,
To comfort, counsel, warn, defend.
You in their infant-age
To tender them engage.
You quicken saints who grow remiss,
And you at death transport their souls to bliss."

As a crowning proof of his affection for Winchester

scholars Ken composed three hymns for their Morning, Evening, and Midnight hours, which he desires they will be sure to sing in their chambers devoutly, "remembering that the Psalmist, upon happy experience, assures you that it is a good thing to tell of the loving kindness of the Lord early in the morning."

It has been erroneously supposed that the three Hymns were always printed with the early Editions of the Manual. But they do not appear in any of the first four, already cited, nor in that of 1692. They are first found in a copy of 1700, and are thus noticed in the title, "A Manual of Prayers, &c. to which is added Three Hymns, for *Morning, Evening, and Midnight*; not in the former Editions by the same Author."

Five years after this appeared a book, entitled "A Conference between the Soul and Body, concerning the Present and Future State."* The management of the Conference, "approved and recommended to the world by the learned Mr. Dodwell," is not worthy of the subject: but to give the second edition a greater zest, the publisher added "Morning and Evening HYMNS, by the Right Reverend Dr. KEN, Bp. of Bath and Wells." Strange liberties were taken with the true version: many of the stanzas were new-modelled, and spoiled, some wholly omitted, and others not in the original version, added. Accordingly in the next Edition of the Manual, the Bishop's publisher produced the Hymns again with this "*Advertisement*;" "Whereas at the end of a book lately

* 8vo. 1705. Attributed to Mr. Henry Nicholson.

publish'd, called a Conference between the Soul and Body, there are some Hymns, said to be writ by Bishop KEN, who absolutely *disowns* them, as being very false and incorrect ; but the genuine ones are to be had only of *Charles Brome*, Bookseller, whose just propriety the original copy is."* — Thus it was the fate of the three Hymns, even in Ken's lifetime, to appear in a mutilated shape ; and they have continued ever since to receive the same usage, being altered or curtailed in a greater or less degree to suit every taste.†

It has long been a question to what tunes these Hymns were set and sung in the lifetime of Ken. The music in present use for the *Morning* Hymn is a corrupt version of the tune composed by Barthelomon, (a violin player of the last century) being now encumbered with modern grace notes, inconsistent with the solemnity of devotional music.

The *Evening* Hymn was originally set to a melody composed by Tallis : this has been still more distorted from its ancient simplicity. Mr. Bowles thinks all the three, for the Morning, Evening, and Midnight, being of the same metre, were adapted by Ken himself to this tune : Hawkins intimates that he was accustomed to sing them to his own tunes, for " he had an excellent genius, and skill in music ; and whenever he had con-

* This is repeated in the Edition of 1712. 12mo. Two years after Ken's death.

† It is 70 years since the 31st Edition of the Manual was printed : at least 50 Editions of the Hymns have now appeared, yet not one is to be found that follows strictly the Bishop's own version. It will not, therefore, be uninteresting to see them in the Appendix, (A) word for word as he penned them.

venient opportunities for it, he performed some of his devotional part of praise with his own compositions, which were grave and solemn." And we have seen how he "seem'd to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigour and cheerfulness to sing his Morning Hymn, as he then used to do to his lute, before he put on his clothes."* Thus his genius for music, like every other gift and endowment, was dedicated to God's glory. In the midst of an evil world his whole life was one continued act of prayer and praise. Our interest in the Hymns would be heightened by believing that he sung them to his own melodies, like George Herbert, whose "chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, *which he set and sung to his own lute or viol.*"† Bishop Sanderfon also was a lover of music, and was wont to play on his base viol, and also to sing to it.‡

Mr. Bowles is correct in supposing Tallis to have been the original author of the melody to which the Evening Hymn was adapted; but he has fallen into an error as to the music itself. He mentions, as his authority, "a very old Collection of Psalms in the 16th century" (for 16th read 17th) meaning "*The whole Booke of Psalms, with the Hymns Evangelical*, by Thomas Ravenscroft, 1633," from the 260th page of which he gives a transcript of "An Hymn by Tho. Tallis for

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 5. † Walton's Life of Herbert.

‡ Aubrey's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 523.

four Voices in A.* But the learned researches of Mr. Havergal† have traced the origin to a source of greater interest, and of much earlier date. He says "the Canon must have been composed by Tallis long before Ravenscroft was born: in fact his is an altered and a shortened version of No. 8 of Tallis's tunes for Archbishop Parker's metrical translation of the Psalms,‡ with many faulty consecutives. It was long ago suspected that Ravenscroft inserted it for the sake of garnishing his Volume with Tallis's name."

Some have thought that the original melody might be still earlier than Tallis, and be found in the collection of Luther, or of Clement Marot. But Mr. Havergal, whose authority is not to be questioned, has no doubt of its being composed by Tallis. There is no resemblance to it in any of the tunes of Luther, published by Winterfeld; nor can it be recognized in the melodies of Guillaume Franc, or Claude le Jeune. He possesses the only known copy extant of the hymn-book of the Bohemian Brethren, printed at Ulm 1538, and the tune is not there, nor in any continental collection. He has favoured me with the following account of the successive corruptions from the original in the Archbishop's Psalter down to the present.

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, Vol. ii. p. 17.

† The Rev. W. H. Havergal, Rector of St. Nicolas' Worcester, and Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral.

‡ "The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalms. Imprinted at London by John Daye." Without date. A correct version of the music will be found in Appendix B.

"First, Ravenscroft's faulty consecutives: these Francis Timprell has copied in his '*Collection of Psalm tunes*' about 1723, again reprinted in the '*Harmonia Perfecta*' 1730, where the tune is given as a 'Long metre single' and is called a Canon, but without words: shortly afterwards, probably in 1732, Pearson printed it in his '*Harmonious Companion, or Psalm Singer's Magazine*,' where at page 235 may be found 'an Evening Hymn, a Canon; two in one;' this again is Ravenscroft's version of Tallis's music, and is adapted to the words of the 1st, 2nd and 4th stanzas of Ken's Evening Hymn, beginning 'All praise to Thee, my God, this night.'*

"But the great corrupter of Ravenscroft's inaccurate version was John Wesley! In 1742 he published a '*Collection of Tunes, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery*,'—a book now of such rarity that Mr. Havergal considers his copy to be unique. The tune is not in parts, but a simple melody, taken mostly from the Tenor, and set to his well known Hymn,

'Jesu, Thy Blood and Righteousness
My Beauty are, my glorious Dress.
Midst flaming Worlds in these array'd
With joy shall I lift up my Head.' &c.

Not only the beginning, the middle and ending are altered, but the very structure of the tune is changed. From this time corrupted versions of the music became

* "It is not printed in any of Playford's Volumes; nor in the *Psalm Singer's Companion*. Playford has only a Morning Hymn, set to other music, and beginning, 'Now that the day star doth arise,' but no Evening Hymn."

common, especially by Dissenting Editors: one of them, C. Ashford, in 1766 descended a step lower than Wesley; and was soon followed by sundry inconsiderable writers of Psalm-tune books, each in succession copying from his predecessors, and adding some additional corruption of his own, down to the end of the last century: since which, in various collections, and under different names, the melody (if such it may now be called) has been perpetuated in its present mutilated shape."

The History of this tune is an illustration of the general decay of music in our Church services—ending in a wide departure from the primitive model. It may be hoped that a brighter period is coming, when Church music will be restored to its due solemnity, and Ken's Hymns be gravely and simply sung to the original melody. His musical skill must have been eminently useful in the revival of the long neglected anthems and choir services of Winchester Cathedral. Bishop Morley had already in part replaced what fanatics had destroyed during the Rebellion. The windows and defaced ornaments were now repaired, the chancel again raised, and the altar table restored to its former place against the eastern screen.* We may believe that Ken contributed all in his power to this restoration. His generous disposition prompted his ready hand in furtherance of every work for the honour of his divine Master. Hawkins says,† "as soon as his circumstances would permit, he gave upwards of an hundred pounds to New College, Oxford, as a small acknowledgement for his education, and towards erecting their new build-

* Milner's Hist. of Winchester, vol. i. p. 423. † Life of Ken, p. 3.

ing." His name also appears among the contributors to the College Library at Winchester, to which he gave thirty pounds, and several scarce books.

He continued to cultivate his taste for music both on the lute and the organ; and there is a tradition in the Fenwicke family that, in his visits to Hallaton in Leicestershire, after he was Bishop, he used to sing his Hymns to the accompaniment of the spinet.* For many years after his death his own organ remained in his room at Winchester, over the third chamber in the College.† It used to afford him a pleasing relaxation after the labours of the day. No doubt he would sometimes join in this innocent recreation among his friends in Winchester, as he used to sing his part at Anthony Wood's social music-meetings in Oxford.‡ For in the midst of his mortified life, strictly accustoming himself to but one sleep, and often rising at one or two o'clock in the morning, "he was so lively and cheerful in his temper, that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening."§

In this he resembled the great St. Basil, whose fearless intrepidity overawed the Roman Præfect, and for

* A small harpsicord.

† Bowles, vol. ii. p. 283.

‡ So George Herbert, "though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; and at his return would say 'That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth.' But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, 'religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it.'"—*Walton's Life of Herbert*.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 5.

awhile arrested the Emperor Valens in his persecution. His heart was warm with the charities of life. Stern in rebuking vice, he was affable and familiar with his friends. "Who made himself more amiable than he to the well-conducted? or more severe when men were in sin? whose very smile was many a time praise, whose silence a reproof, punishing the evil in a man's own conscience? If he was not full of talk, nor a jester, nor a holder forth, nor generally acceptable from being all things to all men, and showing good nature, what then? is not this his praise, not his blame, among sensible men? Yet, if we ask for this, who so pleasant as he in social intercourse? Who could tell a story with more wit? Who could jest so playfully? Who could give a hint more delicately, so as neither to be overstrong in his rebuke, nor remiss through his gentleness?"*

Ken indeed was remarkable for the grace of Christian urbanity. With all his reverential sense of the sacredness of the priestly office, he could temper the gravity of his demeanour with a pleasantness of address that won the confidence of those he would fain bring "into captivity to the obedience of Christ." The revelation of the Gospel is from the God of Love, and they who preach its mysteries are to exhibit in their lives its corresponding qualities. All the visible perfections of His creatures, all the tender sympathies implanted in the heart of man, speak of His attribute of Love. The very angels, notwithstanding their nearer view of His perfections, yet sympathize with the weaknesses of

* Church of the Fathers, p. 87.

their "fellow-servants." Was not the love of our compassionate Saviour exemplified in His whole life on earth? He set that example which St. Peter recommends for our imitation: "be pitiful, be courteous." His ineffable dignity was tempered by so divine a condescension, His exalted presence by a graciousness so meek and gentle, that He exhibited the harmonious perfection of His two-fold Nature in their highest attributes of Majesty and Love.

The learned and charitable Dr. Hammond used to say "he delighted to be loved, not revered; thinking that when there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance attending on the one, which was not well consistent with the perfect freedom requisite to the other."*

George Herbert also acted on the same principle. He says, "The Country Parson is generally sad, because he knows nothing but the cross of Christ; his mind being defixed on it with those nails wherewith his master was. Or, if he has any leisure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two most sad spectacles, sin and misery; God dishonoured every day, and man afflicted. — Nevertheless, he sometimes refresheth himself, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that pleasantness of disposition is a great key to do good: not only because all men shun the company of perpetual severity; but also for that, when they are in company, instruction seasoned with pleasantness both enter sooner, and root deeper.

* Fell's Life of Hammond.

Wherefore he condescends to human frailties, both in himself and others; and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer.”*

So Ken considered himself a messenger of the Gospel of love; his experience of human nature taught him that men were to be allured, rather than driven from the transitory objects of this lower life to sublime and spiritual affections. He did not think it unbecoming his holy office to draw their regard to himself personally, if by contemplating the features of a Christian character they might be led to place their higher love on God.

Being in attendance on Bishop Morley, these and his other eminent qualities began to bring him to the notice of the King. Winchester, from its healthy situation, its extensive downs, and at that time the finest sporting country in England, often attracted Charles II. to its neighbourhood. He made frequent progresses there with his court, on the way to Portsmouth, and for hunting excursions in the New Forest. His brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. accompanied him, which probably sometimes gave Ken the society of his friend Francis Turner, the Duke's especial favourite and Chaplain.

But the presence of the Court, as we shall see, became an occasion of trial to the self-denying inmates of the Bishop's palace. Splendid pageants, luxurious feasts, the concourse of attendants, the busy carefulness and anxious waiting for the sunshine of royal favour, had no charms for Ken. His heart was engaged in

* Herbert's Country Parson.

higher aims. The saving of all-precious souls, and training them for the court of the King of kings was the one absorbing idea that fixed his energetic will. Moreover the Court of Charles was one of the most profligate in Europe, that of France not excepted. In his exile at Bruffels, Paris, &c. even when his father was suffering the bitterness of persecution, and his death on the scaffold caused England to be an astonishment and a bye word to the nations, he had been given up to low sensual pursuits. After his Restoration also by a dissolute life he set the worst of examples to his people, and bequeathed to them a fearful legacy of profaneness and license, that spread like a contagion to after times. The private histories and memoirs of his life, and many volumes of letters from his courtiers and foreign ministers, exhibit debauchery, drunkenness, gaming, profuse oaths, and infidel wit, as the common and fashionable vices of the age. He seemed to want all sense of the responsibility of a nation's welfare intrusted to him, and forgot that kings hold a divine commission which is to be exercised absolutely and supremely for the glory of God. He gave himself up to the pursuit of selfish and debasing pleasures, falsely so called, that eat out as a canker the better affections of the heart. The hardihood with which he blazoned forth his profligacy to the world may be understood by the fact that of his numerous natural children, born of many mothers, he raised six to the honour of a Dukedom.

CHAPTER VII.

Ken makes the Tour of Italy with Isaak Walton's Son—At Rome in the year of Jubilee—Returns home—His attachment to the Church of England.



NEW and refreshing scene opens to us, as we turn from the fearful picture of Charles's Court to the personal history of Ken. Having given to the Winchester scholars a Manual of prayers to sustain their devotion, he prepared himself for a journey through Italy, at that time (towards the end of 1675) the wealthiest and most populous country in Europe. By nature fertile in the various productions of the earth, abounding in the rare works of modern and ancient art, the nurse of music, of poetry, painting, and sculpture, and illustrious for men of science and literature, Italy formed the natural point of attraction for those whose taste impelled them to enlarge their experience beyond the shores of England. The Houses of English noblemen, even in this our luxurious age, cannot vie with the stately palaces of Doria, Farnese, Medici, Pitti, Colonna, Aldobrandini, Pamfili, Barberini, Borgheze and others: their marble halls and galleries were decorated with unrivalled pictures and statues, and museums of precious ornaments and jewels, many of them now despoiled and scattered abroad.

The tour of Italy was an object of general interest and desire, not easily attained in those days, but thought to give the last finish to a gentleman of birth and fortune. Beyond all this, the policy, discipline, and doctrines of the Court and Church of Rome had long formed a theme of discussion in England. The hopeless janglings to which controversy always gives rise were aggravated by the prejudices of various sects and parties. Every shade of difference seemed to discharge men from the obligations of common justice towards each other. Hence in great measure had arisen, during the Rebellion, that discord which seemed to banish from the earth all the meek and lowly tempers, enjoined by the blessed Saviour on the Mount. They who adhered to the primitive doctrine and ceremonial of the Church were branded with the name of Papists. Sectarian fanaticism holding up religion as a cloak for persecution, gave loose to all the implacable passions of our nature.

With the Restoration the tide changed : but an intolerant spirit prevailed with those now replaced in power ; the sectaries in their turn were oppressed, and forbidden the exercise of their worship. The Church recovered much of her temporal possessions, but not her spiritual rule. The bands of discipline were loosened ; the pure services of religion, long in disuse, were still negligently performed by the clergy (many of whom had been seceders, and were now but outward conformists) and therefore disregarded by the people. Added to this the King secretly desired to restore the influence of the Church of Rome ; an object constantly urged forward by the Duke of York. Charles was restrained

by motives of policy from implicitly following his advice; yet his own inclinations prompted him to all compliances within the verge of safety. It may be doubted if he had actually conformed to Rome: the evidence is not conclusive; but it is certain he would have done so, could he have ventured. To save appearances, he was often compelled to proclaim severe penalties against Romanists; but they were negligently enforced. He had long been a pensioner of Louis XIV. to whom he had bound himself by secret treaty, for the restoration of Popery in England. Whenever his personal necessities were most urgent, he applied to Louis for fresh advances, under plea that the interests of the Catholic Church required such aid. "After having passed a law, says Mr. Fox, to make it penal to affirm (what was true) that the King was a Papist, he pretended (what was not true) to be a zealous and bigoted Papist."

Coleman the Jesuit's letters to M. La Chaize may be selected from a mass of other evidence to show the hopes entertained of establishing the Roman ritual. "We have here a mighty work" (he says in 1675) "on our hands; no less than the conversion of three Kingdoms; and by that, perhaps, the subduing a pestilent heresy which has domineered over part of this northern world a long time. There was never such hopes of success, since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great: so that it imports us to get all the aid and af-

sistence, for the harvest is great, and the labourers are few."

Examples however were not wanting of Christian love that teaches men to hold their opinions with courage, yet with meekness, neither yielding on the one hand, nor reviling on the other. Of this number was Ken; and probably with a view to judge of the Papacy, in the very seat of its power, he resolved to visit Rome. That he might give his nephew, young Isaac Walton, the advantages of foreign travel, under his own watchful guidance, he made him the companion of his journey.

Clement X. had proclaimed the Catholic Jubilee (held every 25th year) to be celebrated with great splendour. Papal briefs were distributed to the prelates throughout all the provinces of Europe, enjoining them to more than ordinary zeal in training their flocks for the "happy effects" of the approaching solemnity. Independent of this great festival, which drew thousands of pilgrims and devotees from every corner of Christendom, other motives than curiosity might reasonably prompt an earnest and reverent man to the voyage of Italy. None could behold without a stirring of heart the Church of Milan, to which St. Ambrose refused admission to the Emperor Theodosius, stained with the blood of the Christians at Thessalonica; nor the Chapel where St. Augustine, with his little Adeodatus, and his friend Alipius, received baptism, and from which St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, on their procession to the great Church, were supposed to have first sung the Te Deum by responses. Above all, Rome must ever present to us objects of great interest: she had in earlier times been the centre of Catholic Communion, the

depository (as St. Irenæus calls her) of the holy apostolical traditions and doctrines. Her soil, once bedewed with the blood of St. Peter and St. Paul, and countless other martyrs, treasured the bodies of those holy apostles, and of St. Philip, St. James, St. Simon, St. Jude, Polycarp, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, &c. She might still glory in the Basilica of St. John of the Lateran gate, said to be pre-eminent over all other churches "urbis et orbis;" and the tomb of St. Peter within the unrivalled church that bears his name, the successive work of Sangalla, Bramante, Baldassar, Michel Angelo, Della Porta, and Fontana.*

The two great routes to Italy were either by Brussels and Cologne, through Augsberg, Innspruck, Trent, and so by Treviso to Venice; or by Paris and the South of France. We have evidence as to which of these our travellers took. At that time the Netherlands were the seat of war, the whole country like an armed camp, and therefore impassable for travellers. Besides, in the second part of the *Complete Angler*, in reference to "young Master Isaac Walton," Piscator says "he has been in France, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where," which seems clearly to indicate their route. In default of a Diary like that of Evelyn, who had made the same journey 30 years before, we must be content to put the travellers on horseback, and leave them to their own reflections, until we give them the meeting at Rome. After Paris, their road lay through Avignon, Vaucluse, Marseilles, and so to the shores of the Mediterranean.

* Laſcelles' *Voyage of Italy*, 12mo. 1670, Vol. ii. p. 47.

In all their journeyings they overtook crowds of pilgrims, hastening to the great Jubilee. Men and women of all classes and ranks, left the peaceful round of their domestic life and duties, and pressed on from stage to stage towards the holy city. In every town and village, as they passed, the Churches were filled with the travellers, offering up prayers for a safe journey. The priests and other charitable persons (invoked by the Pope to lend their aid) dispensed food, and afforded shelter. It was winter: the festival was to begin on Christmas eve: and what can impede the zeal of earnest hearts, panting for reconciliation with God! In all their sufferings they animate one another with prayer and mutual charities; their patience unbroken, unwearied. Many faint by the way,—some are gathered to their rest, and a lowly mound in the neighbouring church-yard is the only memorial of their hasty interment in a foreign land. The mournful survivors receive the blessing of the ministering priest, and with tears again pursue their journey, till the brow of the last hill is gained, and the great Basilica, the holy Zion of their intent longings, stands out before them! A cry of joy bursts from one to the other;—all eyes are strained to catch a glimpse of the surmounting Cross. Whatever straits or dangers have encompassed them, hardships, losses, sufferings,—all are forgotten in this one joyous burst of acclamation, “*Roma la Santa.*” They descend into the Campagna—enter by the Flaminian way, and are at rest. They await the appointed time when, at the opening of the Holy Gate of St. Peter, they shall enter in to receive from the Pope a plenary indulgence

in return for countless offerings to be poured into the treasury of the Church.*

This was promised to all who, being confessed and penitent, should within the year of Jubilee visit the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul for fifteen days. Such numbers of people flocked from all countries to Rome that, during the greatest part of the year, there were reckoned no less than 200,000 strangers in succession. The author of the chronicle of Parma declares that the travellers on the Claudian road had the appearance every day of the march of an army. At the time of Ken's visit, indulgences had fallen in value, through the wider spread of the Reformation, and the exposure of their mercenary sale, so that the number of pilgrims was diminished. Still the concourse was very great. In the previous Jubilee of 1650, Lascelles† saw 9000 pilgrims entertained in one day in the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, the Pope himself, and many of the Cardinals, being there to wash their feet, and serve them at table. As the purchased pardons had been depreciated, the time required for the residence of pilgrims was shortened, and envoys were sent into the provinces to distribute indulgences. They who could not, or would not, travel, might give their alms at home, keeping Jubilee in the appointed Churches, which, by the authority of the Holy Father, should be of equal efficacy with gifts offered at the tomb of the Apostles.

The travellers having seen the wonders of Rome,

* Appendix C.

† Voyage of Italy, Vol. ii. p. 8.

again took horse for England, through some of the fairest provinces of Italy. The road to Venice would bring them by Narni, Terni, Spoleto, Assisi, famous for the tomb of St. Francis, Tolentino, &c. "Venice the Rich" was at that time one of the most powerful cities of Europe, though now depressed and crumbling in decay, a vast sepulchral monument of the instability of human grandeur. We would fain linger with them amidst the palaces of the Venetian nobles, and the Church of St. Marc; and glide with them in their gondola beneath the Rialto and the Bridge of Sighs;—but it is time for Ken to be at home among his flock at Winchester. No doubt he had been with them in thought through all his journeyings, and longed to return, that he might once more feed them in the green pastures, and fold them beside the still waters.

He little supposed that he was himself the subject of suspicion at home, and looked upon as no faithful shepherd. But so it was; "for he lost the favour of many of his former auditors, who supposed that by this journey he had been tinged with Popery." Wood declares that they were "altogether mistaken."* We scarcely require this assurance: it was not likely his faith would stagger amid the corruptions he had witnessed. The effect of his travels was to strengthen him in his convictions of Rome's declension from Catholic truth. "He was often heard to say that he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels, since (if it were possible) he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the

* Athæn. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 989.

Protestant religion, than he was before.”* A personal observation of the corruptions of the Church of Rome had produced the same effect on Robert Boyle. He observes, in the memoirs of his own travels, that he “never found the Pope less valued than in Rome, nor his religion fiercelier disputed against than in Italy: and he ceased to wonder that the Pope should forbid the flight of Rome to Protestants, since nothing could more confirm them in their religion.”†

Something there may be in the Roman theory to captivate sensitive and fervent minds, who find at home a confused strife, relaxed discipline, and discordant clergy. Still our Mother Church, in whose bosom we have been regenerated, is a sure point of rest to humble and confiding men, who believe that Christ can and will pour His healing balm into her wounds. Faint of heart, and void of courage are they who cannot realize the joy of steadfastness, and patient waiting,—who think that God will not give His strength to bear her up in her day of need. Surely it is His own Church, for which he endured the agony of the Cross. St. John, and St. Peter, and all the glorious company of Apostles, the goodly fellowship of Prophets, and the noble army of Martyrs, are never weary of praying for her peace. To join in this would exemplify greater humbleness of mind, and a more abiding faith, than to magnify her defects, and yearn after another communion.

Certain it is that Ken's filial attachment to the Church of England sustained him in his obedience amidst all her confusion. Her pure worship and services were

* Hawkins's Life, p. 6.

† Birch's Life of Robert Boyle.

badly neglected, her doctrines perverted, her most devoted ministers held in suspicion. He knew that her heavenly Master could in His own time bring her forth from the trial. He was always a moderator in religious disputes; and because he did not rail against an erring Church, he was accused of a leaning towards her doctrines. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that Rome had degraded the spirituality of Christ's Kingdom to a secular government,—from an invisible power, not of this world, to a bold assumption of temporal rule.

But there is a wide difference between rejecting their errors, and holding the Romanists in abhorrence and scorn. Surely we all share in the common name of Christians, and have one faith in the ever-adorable Trinity. If we cannot partake in their worship, we may pray for them as our brethren; and even by contrast with their misplaced fervour, learn to mourn our own palsied devotion. If we condemn their penance and their pilgrimages, as works of merit, we must confess that they spring from a principle of earnest faith; and it were well for Reformed England, if her clergy and laity would emulate the hardness which theirs endure.

If Roman priests have celibacy and poverty bound upon them, and we have received no such command, do not ours openly traffic in the cure of souls for their children's sake? If they invoke the Blessed Virgin, and the holy Apostles, we seem almost to deny the Communion of Saints: neglecting and depreciating festivals appointed by the Church, which should be to us joyful occasions of prayer and thanksgiving, with the whole Church visible and invisible, “knit together in one com-

munion and fellowship, in the mystical body of Christ our Lord."* If their religion exceeds in ceremonial, we have well nigh given up the reverential solemnities of worship. If their Churches are gorgeous with images, and multiply altars, we suffer the damp walls and mouldering roofs of God's house to fall to decay, side by side with the lavish decorations of our own dwellings.

Ken clearly saw the perversions into which the English Church was then betrayed,—the Puritan extremes into which she was falling from a fierce antagonism to Rome. He perceived how she had relaxed her discipline, and almost forgotten the nature of a holy obedience: how every priest set up his own standard of conformity, as the measure of his doctrine and practice, with little or no regard to primitive antiquity, or the injunctions of his Diocesan; so that freedom of thought in matters of doctrine, and liberty of action in ecclesiastical order, came to be equally insisted on by the laity also.

Whoever attempted to restore a strictly uniform practice, or urged the real nature and efficacy of the Sacraments, or showed in his personal living a holy mortification, was accused of a design to introduce the superstitious formalism of Rome. Thus it was that Ken's regard to every ordinance of the Anglican Church, his ascetic life, and his deep sense of Christian mysteries, were taken at this time by many of his flock to be an indication of his leaning towards the Papacy. But

* "The Feasts and Fasts of the Church are happy days, set apart for the remembrance of God's love."

Ken's Exposition of the Catechism. Ed. 1686, p. 84.

he *lived down* these prejudices, zealously and consistently setting forth in word and deed the harmonious doctrines of the Gospel, and giving example of a strict adherence to the Church, in times when she was most in danger. He continued at Winchester three years after his return from Rome, pursuing the same studious mortified life, the same unremitted labours to promote the spiritual advancement of all who lived within his sphere.



CHAPTER VIII.

Early life of William Prince of Orange—Delivers Holland from the power of Louis XIV. His Marriage to the Princess Mary—Ken appointed Chaplain at the Hague—His faithfulness in the discharge of his office.



THE even tenor of Ken's life, and the enjoyment of the society of Bishop Morley, Isaak Walton, and the Fellows of the College, were now for a time to be interrupted. He was called to a sphere, less congenial to his tastes, because in the immediate circle of a Court, and in a foreign land. The duty assigned him, if not by the King, probably by the Duke of York, was the spiritual guidance of the Princess Mary, whose principles were thought to be in danger from the Presbyterian influence of her husband, William III. of Orange.

The History of this Prince is so linked with English politics, and therein with the fortunes of Ken, that we cannot avoid some brief sketch of his early life. In 1641 his mother, Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I. was married to William II. of the house of Orange. This union was brought about in an evil hour for the Stuarts, and in the end led to their extinction. The marriage was celebrated amid the tumults which hurried Strafford and Laud to the block, ratified the League and Covenant between the Scotch and English repub-

licans, and at length prepared the nation for the indelible crime of the King's death.

Mary lost her husband in 1650, and a few days afterwards (the 4th of November) gave birth to a posthumous Prince, the future Stadtholder of Holland, and destined, as King of England, to wear the crown of her ancestors. On the Restoration of her brother she came to London to offer her congratulations, and to conciliate his protection of her son, then at the age of ten years, exposed to the rule of republican guardians, and excluded from his family honours by an edict of the States. The impulses of maternal affection, and of a sound judgement, prompted her to this visit, but sealed her own fate. She died of the small pox, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, leaving her son, Prince William, to the harshness and jealousies of the De Witts, unmitigated by any sympathy from Charles, who ought now to have proved himself his natural protector.

In 1670 Mary's sister, the Duchess of Orleans, as designing as she was beautiful, paid a visit to England, at the instance of Louis XIV, that she might concert a clandestine peace with Charles.

The objects of the treaty, were to engage Charles's co-operation in the ruin of Holland, his nephew's patrimony, and induce him to avow his adherence to the Church of Rome. The bribe was a dishonourable pension from France, and the promise of an armed force to render himself independent of his Parliament. The whole proved a signal failure. He had neither concern enough for religion to avow his apostacy from

the Church of England, until the hand of death was upon him, — nor sufficient courage to claim the proffered aid in establishing an absolute monarchy. So far the subjection of Holland being thus accomplished, the Stadtholder wrested the crown from his successor : so that Charles, who should have protected the young Prince, sold his kingly honour at a vile and valueless bargain.

The young Prince, descended from brave and patriotic ancestors, inherited their qualities. Reflective, discriminating, unimpassioned, resolved, — of a modest taciturn demeanour, — he was by nature of a sickly constitution, but habituated to hardships and fatigue ; daring in valour, and above all animated with an ardent love for his country. Bereaved of both parents at an early age, he had been educated under the more than maternal care of his grandmother, Amelia, Princess of Solmes, a woman of superior endowments. By her example and precepts he acquired a force of mind, that afterwards rendered him one of the most distinguished princes of Europe.

His great rival, Louis XIV. was born to be at once the glory and the scourge of France. Returning from his baptism, which had been delayed till his fifth year, he visited the sick bed of his father to receive the parental blessing. “ I rejoice, my son,” said the dying king, “ that you are made a Christian, and what is your name ? ” “ My name,” replied the boy, already corrupted by court-flatterers, but unconscious of the wound he inflicted, “ is Louis XIV.” It struck as an ill omen on the father’s spirit : “ Not yet, — not

yet," said he, turning on the other side: but in three weeks the prophecy was fulfilled. Louis ascended the throne in 1643.

It would be out of place to detail the conquests he achieved, and the success that attended his diplomacy in all foreign countries. Never was a king supported by braver armies, or served by more sagacious and devoted ministers in every court of Europe. He was trained up, from an early age, to a high capacity for political intrigue under the counsels of Mazarin, Colbert, and others.—Instructed in the art of war by the most celebrated generals of the age, and sharing in their dangers and fatigues, he prepared himself to take the lead in vast designs, that for a time extended the bounds of France beyond all former precedent. The conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and of the free states of Holland, was a favourite object of his ambition. To "humble the pride of imperious Spain," and "to chastise the insolence of those upstart Republicans who pretended to make laws for crowned heads," were thought to be legitimate enterprises, simply because they tended to his own aggrandizement. It is to the latter only we have to address ourselves, as connecting the thread of our story.

He opened the campaign against the United Provinces in 1672 with an army of about 100,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Condé, and Marshal Turenne. His camp was attended by ambassadors, princes, nobles, and officers from all parts, as volunteers and witnesses of the triumph of "the invincible monarch." The States and Cities of Holland were divided into political factions,

one headed by the De Witts, enthusiastic lovers of a Republic, the other favouring the Prince of Orange, whom the democrats had deprived of the office of Stadtholder, under a "Perpetual Edict" for the maintenance of liberty. In the midst of their contests they received intelligence that the enemy had effected at Tolhuis the brilliant passage of the Rhine, passing over sixteen squadrons of cavalry *à la nage* under the command of De Guiche,—a fearful augury of the fate of their country. It was one of the grandest spectacles in the history of war to see the whole French army drawn up in array on the opposite bank of the river to witness the success of that hazardous exploit, thought by Condé himself to be impracticable. Victory every where now attended the French arms: all Europe awaited the approaching downfall of the Republic.

Louis having advanced from one conquest to another, and made himself master of Utrecht, the States were compelled to send deputies to implore his clemency. Nothing less would satisfy the haughty monarch than their entire submission to his own terms, which would at once have sealed their dishonour and their ruin. He even demanded that the Provinces should send him every year an extraordinary embassy, with a gold medal, as an acknowledgment of their vassalage.*

In this crisis of their fortunes, the nation had recourse to the young Prince William, as their only hope. He had already given indications of his capacity for command, and was now appointed Captain General of the forces of Holland. One of his first

* Trevor's *Life of William III.* vol. i, p. 49.

measures, to obtain delay, was to open the sluices of the great dyke. This was the resource of a brave people, resolved to lose all but their freedom, and to drown their territories by a general inundation rather than submit to a foreign yoke. A popular clamour was raised against De Witt, and the other magistrates. Holding their authority, as Republicans always do, by the uncertain tenure of the people's will, they were forced to repeal the "Perpetual Edict," to release William from his oath of self-exclusion, and to elect him to the office of Stadtholder. John De Witt and his brother fell victims to the fury of the multitude, under a false impression that they had betrayed the country to their enemies. Doubtless they were sincere patriots; but like many zealots who sacrifice every thing to abstract principles they had endangered the public safety; and now by a violent death at the hands of the mob afforded another example of the tyranny of democratic rule.

To all human calculations the fate of Holland was sealed: her resources were exhausted; her army almost annihilated; her fortresses in the hands of a proud and victorious enemy, dreaded for the cruelties he every where inflicted, and confident from the signal triumphs already achieved. But the Prince, rising under all his difficulties, seemed inspired by the genius of war. Never, perhaps, was a greater national deliverance wrought by the enterprise and sagacity of so young a warrior. The English minister, remonstrating with him against the risk he was incurring, said, "Do you not see that the country is lost?" His answer was, "I see it is in great danger; but there is a sure

way never to see it lost, and that is to die in the last ditch."

In this spirit he opened the campaign with the remnant of an army, in number not one fifth that of the French, wanting in all the materials of war, dispirited by defeat, and mainly composed of foreigners. But he seemed a host of himself: every where present, and undaunted, he infused his own courage into the hearts of others. He was calm and unmoved in the midst of danger because he knew no fear, of keen intelligence to discover each weak point, and prompt to remedy every defect and error. He displayed such an inflexibility of mind, such a genius for war, and so burning a zeal, that the whole nation seemed, at his command, to start into an enthusiasm, that has generally been thought foreign to its character.

The Prince, but lately a youth of sickly frame, neglected, thwarted, excluded from his family honours, the indignant witness of his country's defeat, was now a hero in the eyes of all surrounding nations. He had entered the lists as the champion of liberty against the conqueror of Europe. Louis, surprised at the sudden effect of his great qualities, would have compromised with him, and offered to make him a Sovereign Prince over a part of the United Provinces with the guaranteed protection of England and France. But he was above the reach of any such personal motive: he replied that "he would never betray the trust reposed in him, or sell the liberties of his country, which his ancestors had so long defended."

Profiting by the jealousy of other princes, who were alarmed at the ambitious projects of Louis, he formed

The Princess had two Chaplains; one to be her "Almoner and Chaplain to her own person, who properly represented the Church of England in Holland, and regulated all things relating to the Chapel and worship of God." * To this office George Hooper had been first appointed, on the recommendation of Archbishop Sancroft. No one could be better qualified for the trust; he remained a year and a half, and it was not without great reluctance that Mary parted with him. But he became very tired of his post, though not of the Princess, for whom he ever retained the highest respect, and received many proofs of her personal regard after her accession to the English throne. Probably on coming away he mentioned his friend Ken;—or Sancroft might have been again the channel of recommendation;—or possibly Lord Maynard, who was Comptroller of the King's household. Be this as it may, the appointment could not be declined, as the King's wish was equal to a command: otherwise the incivilities that Hooper had met with from the Prince of Orange would have deterred him from hazarding a like treatment.

William was a hero in the field, but not an amiable master: his conduct to Hooper was unworthy of a Prince; and Ken fared little better at his hands. It was fortunate for Dr. Hooper that he had independent means of living; for "all the time he was in Holland he was never offered any money. The other Chaplain was a worthy man, but not so well provided with subsistence in England, and not doubting but he should

* Prouse MS. *Life of Hooper.*

have a handsome stipend for his attendance, he ran so far in debt that he was so unhappy as to die under confinement by a broken heart, never being able to get one shilling of the Prince. But the night before Dr. Hooper was to embark, when he left Holland, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, sent a servant to him with a bag in which the servant told him there was 70*l.* and an excuse for its being sent no sooner. This was all Dr. Hooper had for a year and a half's attendance; a specimen of Dutch generosity, of which I could give more instances."

"The Doctor found that some books had been put into the Princess's hands (who was a great reader) to incline her to a more favourable opinion of the Dissenters, than was consistent with that regard which a person so near the throne ought to have, for the preservation of the Church of England: which made him take all opportunities to recommend her to such books as would give her the clearest notions of Church Communion and Government, and the great obligations to submit to them. The Prince coming one day into her apartment, happened to find Eusebius's Church History, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity lying before her Highness, and she reading in one of them, when he, with great commotion and eagerness, said, What, I suppose Dr. Hooper persuades you to read these books."*

From the same source which furnishes these anecdotes we are able to give one or two further characteristics of the Stadtholder, simply as bearing on the difficulties Ken afterwards met with, when he acted in the

* Prouse MS. Life of Hooper.

same capacity. "Dr. Hooper, when he came into Holland, found the Princess without any regular chapel for Divine Service, and the house so small as to afford no room to make one, except the dining room in which she dined, for the Prince and Princess never eat together, as the States and their officers often were admitted to his table; but not fit guests for her's. This room she readily parted with for that use (and ever after, at least as long as Dr. H. staid there, dined in a small dark parlour) and ordered Dr. H. to see the room fitted up in a proper manner for her Chapel, and when it was near finished, Her Highness bid Dr. H. attend on such a day, when the Prince intended to come and see what was done. Accordingly the Prince came, and as there was a step or two at the Communion Table, and another for the chair where the Princess was to sit, he kicked at them with his foot, asking what they were for, which being told in a proper manner, he answered with a *hum*. When the Chapel was fit for use, the Prince never came to it, but on Sunday evenings, the Princess constantly attending twice a-day, and for fear she should ever make Dr. Hooper, or the congregation, wait beyond the appointed time, she ordered him, when it was so, to come to her apartment, and show himself only, as she would immediately come."*

The Prince afterwards learned to behave himself more reverently before the Altar, when he possessed himself of the Palace at Whitehall. It might be no reproach to him, as a Presbyterian, that he should take umbrage at the Princess studying Hooker's *Ecclesiasti-*

* Proufe MSS.

cal Polity : but it was no mark of his tolerant spirit to treat with disrespect and contempt the circumstantialia of the Church into which she was baptized. It is creditable to his judgment and his heart that, when he had better opportunities to inform himself of the real principles and ritual of the Church of England, he cordially adopted them. Would that all who have the same opportunities were equally teachable. But to proceed with Hooper's memoirs.

"One day the Prince was talking with Dr. Hooper about the great distractions then in England at the time of the Popish Plot, and the great indulgence intended to be shown to the Dissenters. But the Doctor not expressing himself so favourable to those measures as he liked or expected, the Prince said to him, 'Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a bishop.' For although the Doctor acted with great prudence and decorum in the difficult station he was in, so as to give the Prince no just occasion of offence, yet he would never yield by undue compliance, where the Church of England, or any thing belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once say to one that was in his confidence if ever he had any thing to do with England Dr. Hooper should be Dr. Hooper still." He little thought that the Chaplain would survive him many years, and be consecrated a Bishop.

The first notices we have of Ken in his new employment at the Hague, appear in the diary of the Hon. Henry Sidney,* ambassador from England to the Court of Holland. Ken's office was "to regulate the per-

* Afterwards Lord Romney. See his Diary, 31st March, 1679.

formance of Divine Service in the Princess's chapel, according to the usage of the Church of England." Hawkins says, "In this post, his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety, gained him entire credit and high esteem with the Princess whom to his death he distinguished by the title of his Mistress."* But he found in the disposition of the Prince nothing kindred to his own. He himself was "lively and cheerful in his temper, disposed to be facetious and entertaining," † a character quite in harmony with that of an earnest Christian. William was of an unsympathizing nature, reserved, morose, bold in war and the chase, nurtured amid the turbulence and confusion of political strife, which make men harsh and selfish. Moreover Ken soon perceived that he treated the young Princess with undeserved coldness and severity,—inasmuch that himself and others attributed her declining health to his unkind usage and, as Sidney expresses it in his Diary, "were mightily for her going into England." "Even before they had sailed for Holland, the Court began to whisper the Prince's fullness, or clownishness, that he took no notice of his Princess at the playe or balle, nor came to see her at St. James's the day preceding this designed for their departure." ‡

Ken with his usual faithfulness, resolved to discharge the trust committed to him, and to remonstrate with the Prince, "though he should kick him out of doors." § His Christian temper, blending with an apostolic fearlessness, well fitted him for so difficult a task : he could admonish, and yet soften the edge of his rebuke. Too

* Life of Ken, p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 5.

‡ Dr. Lake's MS. Diary, printed by the Camden Society in 1846.

§ Sidney's Diary, vol. 2, p. 19.

guileless to understand the arts of flattery, he considered it a part of his commission to protect all who came within the sphere of his ministry. How he fared with the Prince in this critical undertaking is not related : but painful truths, brought home to the consciences of those accustomed to command, irritate rather than persuade. It may be inferred from the sequel that he proved an unwelcome monitor. A circumstance soon after occurred in the court of the Stadtholder, which brought upon Ken the full weight of his displeasure.

Count Zulestein, under a promise of marriage, had gained the heart and confidence of the beautiful Jane Worth, maid of honour to the Princess ; but from a fear of offending William, or from some other cause, hesitated to fulfil his pledge. Ken, however, was content once more to brave the frowns of the Prince for the satisfaction of restoring peace to a wounded spirit. His sympathy was called forth on her behalf : she was a countrywoman ; and could claim a descent from the heroic Sir Philip Sidney, that “ short-lived ornament of his noble family, and the Marcellus of the English nation.” But she had a still stronger title to his protection ; for she was niece to his early patron, Lord Maynard, her mother being his Lordship’s own sister Anne : no doubt Ken had often seen them both at Little Easton. All these considerations roused his beneficent feelings ; and he so strenuously urged her claims, that Zulestein, subdued by his persuasive pleadings to a sense of justice, made all the restitution in his power by an honourable marriage.*

* He was afterwards created Earl of Rochford, and the title descended to their eldest son.—Collins’s Peerage, vol iv. p. 162.

William was absent at Amsterdam* when this affair took place, and on his return to the Hague expressed the greatest indignation. Yet he ought not to have felt dishonoured by the union of Zulestein (who was a natural son of Prince Henry Frederick of Nassau) with a descendant, of the house of Sidney. He might have remembered, too, the friendship between Sir Philip and his own illustrious ancestor, William of Nassau, the deliverer of his country, who sent a message to Queen Elizabeth that "her majesty had in Sir Philip one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of state in Europe."† His pride, however, was hurt; and perhaps having treasured up his resentment at Ken's former unwelcome interference, threatened to discharge him from his service for the part he had now taken.

The Chaplain was far from feeling any regret at the prospect of returning to England: he would rather accept it as a boon. His heart was in Winchester; and we have sufficient evidence that in the palace and habits of the Stadtholder other things, besides a difference of religious tenets, were inconsistent with his sense of right. Instead, therefore, of deprecating William's anger, he obtained leave of the Princess to retire. But he stood so high in the esteem of all men that the Prince was unwilling to incur the obloquy of dismissing him, especially for an act that could not but be applauded in England. William looked forward to reap the advantage of the Duke of York's exclusion from the English throne, as a Popish Recusant, for which a bill had al-

* Sidney's Diary, vol. ii. p. 162.

† Lord Brooke's Life of Sir Ph. Sydney.

ready been introduced into the House of Commons. He was anxious to conciliate the favour of all parties : he determined therefore to control his feelings ; and so “ entreated him to return to his former post and respect.” Ken’s placable spirit was not difficult to persuade ; “ he consented to continue for one year longer, during which time he was taken into a show of great familiarity, and when that year expired he returned for England.”*

The close of his duties at the Hague was cheered by an event that marks the powerful effect of his ministry. His fervent eloquence, and affectionate zeal,—his simplicity and holiness of life, made their way to the hearts even of men of other creeds. Not only Presbyterians, but Roman Catholics, went to hear him preach. The pure Anglican doctrine was brought out in its full force ; not in the way of controversy, but by demonstration from the inspired oracles. In the spirit of primitive teaching he convinced his hearers of the apostolic origin and authority of our Episcopate. It is probable there were several instances of conversion : but one that took place from the Church of Rome was deemed of sufficient importance to be communicated to Archbishop Sancroft, with whom Ken had already commenced a friendship, afterwards so severely tested. Henry Sidney mentions† the intended conversion of Colonel Fitz Patrick from the Romish Communion. Two days after he notices a conference between the Colonel and Dr. Ken ; and on the 13th of September the Chaplain writes this unpretending letter to Sancroft.

* Hawkins, p. 8.

† Diary, 29th August, 1680.

“ For His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ My very Good Lord,

“ I SHOULD not dare to make this invasion on Your Grace, but that my duty enforces me, and the ambition I have to send news, which I know will be extremely welcome to your Grace, and the rather because it is of a convert to our Church, and of a convert, who is no less a person than Collonell Fitz Patrick ; who upon a deliberate enquiry is so fully satisfied with our Church, that he communicates with us next Lord's day in the Prince's Chapel. 'Tis not to be imagined how much both their Highnesses are pleased with the Colonel's happy resolution, and the Prince commanded me to give my Lord of London a particular account of it, which I have done. &c.

“ I most earnestly begge Your Grace's benediction

“ My Good Lord,

“ Your Grace's most obedient and
most humble servant,

Hague, Sept. 13th, 1680.

“ THO. KEN.”*

He would not have been desired by the Prince to send the Bishop of London particulars of the progress of this conversion, had he not been the principal instrument of bringing it about : yet he makes no mention of himself ; his only thought is the cause of truth, and the good of his fellow-men.

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 38.

CHAPTER IX.

Ken returns from the Hague—appointed Chaplain to the King—His Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard—The Court of Charles II. at Winchester—Ken refuses the use of his Prebendal house to Nell Gwin.



THE time was now arrived for Ken's happy return to England. He did not, as Hawkins mentions, remain in Holland till the end of the year : it is certain that he was in London, in the house of his friend Francis Turner, in Amen Corner, Westminster, in October, 1680. No sooner did he arrive than the King rewarded his faithfulness by appointing him one of his own Chaplains. Hawkins and Wood both say that "the King did not show any dislike of his behaviour in Holland." It was not probable he should do so ; for "his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety gained him entire credit, and high esteem with the Princess Mary," who probably recommended him to the King's favour. Moreover, Lord Maynard's influence would naturally be exercised in favour of the protector of his niece, Jane Worth, now Madame Zulestein.

If the Prince still cherished any resentment against Ken, it was not likely to lower him in the good graces of Charles, who had never shown any affection for his nephew. William was too near in succession, and in too close correspondence with the anti-court party in

England, not to be an object of jealousy to the royal brothers. The Princess, his wife, was heir presumptive to the throne; and when shortly afterwards the Oxford Parliament again proposed to exclude the Duke of York, and banish him from England, as an avowed Papist, the House of Commons declared that the Government (on the King's demise) should be vested in them, as Regents; and Commissioners were to have been sent over to receive the oaths of William and Mary that they would take on themselves the trusts of the intended act. The King, to prevent the prosecution of this scheme, suddenly dissolved parliament; but the Prince was still openly regarded by the malcontents as the main hope of the nation for preserving the Protestant religion. Apart, therefore, from all other influences, the circumstance of Ken's having incurred the Prince's displeasure, would rather advance than impede his promotion at the hands of the King. Wood fixes the appointment in 1679,* Bowles in 1681,† and Hawkins in 1684, *after his return* from Tangier.‡ Hawkins is plainly mistaken; for in the books of the Lord Chamberlain's office there is a memorandum of a letter, dated the 25th of January, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, written to Dr. Vincent (another of the Royal Chaplains) desiring him "to wayte in February next, for Dr. Kenn, he being at sea in His Majesty's service," showing that he was Chaplain *before* the expedition to Tangier.

The Records of the Lord Chamberlain's office ought

* *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. ii. p. 989. † *Life of Ken*, Vol. ii. p. 63.

‡ Hawkins' *Life of Ken*, p. 7.

to give the very day of his appointment: but the books are defective at the exact period when it took place. It is certain, however, that he was not chaplain at any time between the 14th of January 1677 and the 30th of July 1680, during which the registers are perfect. The following letter, extant in the office, shows that he was appointed between the date of his letter to San-croft, (the 13th of September) and the 21st of October 1680. So that the time is ascertained within a few weeks. It is not improbable that this letter was the first official notice he received of the King's favour.

October 21st, 1680.

" Sir,

" THERE being five Sundays of this month of October I have thought proper to appoint you to preach before His Majesty at Whitehall upon the last Sunday in this month; but, understanding that it would be more convenient for you to preach upon Sunday next, I have prevailed with the Dean of Chichester, who is in waiting, to preach upon the last Sunday, and that you should preach before His Majesty upon Sunday next at Whitehall, and so perform that duty accordingly.

" Thus I rest your loving friend,

" ARLINGTON."

For Dr. Ken,

at Dr. Turner's, Amen Corner.

There is no record of this his first sermon before the Court. In the lists of Lent Preachers, in the London Gazette for 1681 and 1682, his name does not appear. Probably, therefore, he only took his turn in the ordinary rotation of the Chaplains in those years. In the

lift of 1683 he was appointed to preach before the King on Ash Wednesday, and again in 1684 on Ash Wednesday the 27th of February: but at this latter date he was absent at Tangier, and Dr. Vincent preached for him. The Chaplaincy required only occasional attendance in London, where he had no engagements to keep him from Winchester. But in the summer of 1682 he was summoned to the death bed of his early friend, Lady Margaret Maynard, that he might minister to her the offices of the Church. We have already seen that his first appointment after ordination was the Rectory of Little Easton, and that he had "for near twenty years been admitted to Lady Margaret's most intimate thoughts." To him she had made "confessions of her frequent severe examinations of her conscience;" and now in her last hour she received the Holy Communion at his hands. It was natural, therefore, that he should be invited to preach her funeral sermon. It cannot but be interesting to hear something of Ken's heartfelt and eloquent praise of this "gracious woman," confirmed in holy affections by his own pastoral influence.

Before he enters on her personal character he offers a glowing tribute to female piety in general. "Women in all ages have given many heroic examples of sanctity; besides those recorded in the Old Testament, many of them are named with great honour in the New, for their assiduity and zeal in following our Saviour, and their charity in ministering to Him of their substance. They accompanied Him to Mount Calvary, lamented His sufferings, waited on the Cross, attended the sepulchre, prepared spices and ointments; and re-

gardless either of the insolence of the rude foldiers, or of the malice of the Jews, with a love that cast out all fear, they came on the first day of the week, before the morning light, to embalm Him : and God was pleased to honour these holy women accordingly, for they first saw the angel, who told them the joyful news that He was risen ; and as if an angel had not been a messenger honourable enough, Jesus Himself first appeared to the women,—the women first saw and adored Him ; and it was these very gracious women whom our Lord sent to His disciples, that women might first be publishers of His resurrection, as angels had been of His nativity. Our Saviour Himself has erected an everlasting monument in the Gospel for the penitent woman that anointed Him ; and God Incarnate honoured the sex to the highest degree imaginable in being born of a woman, in becoming the Son of a Virgin Mother, whom all generations shall call Blessed ; and I know not how to call it, but there is a meltingness of disposition, and affectionateness of devotion, an easy sensibility, an industrious alacrity, a languishing ardour in piety, peculiar to the sex, which renders them subjects more pliable to the divine grace than men commonly are ; so that Solomon had reason to bestow the epithet *gracious* particularly on them, and to say that ‘ a gracious woman retaineth honour.’”*

Applying this general character to the immediate object of his affectionate eulogy, “ I cannot tell,” he

* A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Mainard, at Little Easton, in Essex, on the 30th of June, 1682, by Dr. Thomas Ken.

says, “ what one help she neglected to secure her perseverance, and to heighten her graces, that she might ‘ shine more and more to a perfect day.’ Her oratory was the place where she principally resided, and where she was most at home, and her chief employment was prayer and praise. Out of several authors, she for her own use transcribed many excellent forms, the very choice of which does argue a most experienced piety: she had devotions suited to all the primitive hours of prayer, as far as her bodily infirmities and necessary avocations would permit, and with David praised God seven times a day, or supplied the want of those solemn hours by a kind of perpetuity of ejaculations, which she had ready to answer all occasions, and to fill up all vacant intervals; and if she happened to wake in the night, of proper prayers even for midnight she was never unprovided. Thus this gracious soul, having been enkindled by fire from Heaven in her baptism, lived a continual sacrifice, and kept the fire always burning, always in ascension, always aspiring towards Heaven from whence it fell.

“ Her charity made her sympathize with all in misery: and besides her private alms, wherein her left hand was not conscious to her right, she was a common patroness to the poor and needy, and a common physician to her sick neighbours, and would often with her own hands dress their most loathsome sores, and sometimes keep them in her family, and would give them both diet and lodging, till they were cured, and then clothe them, and send them home to give God thanks for their recovery; and if they died, her charity accompanied them sometimes to the grave, and she took care

even of their burial. She would by no means endure that by the care of plentifully providing for her children the wants and necessities of any poor Christian should be overlooked ; and desired it might be remembered, that alms, and the poor's prayers, will bring a greater blessing to them than thousands a year."

But we must bring these extracts, and the life of Lady Margaret, to a close, that we may return to the history of the Preacher. "On Whit Sunday she received her Viaticum, the most holy Body and Blood of her Saviour, and having received absolution, she in a short time was happily launched into the state of separation of soul and body ; for all the bonds of union being untied, her soul was set at liberty, and on the wings of Angels took a direct and vigorous flight to its native country, Heaven, from whence it first flew down. There we must leave her in the bosom of her heavenly Bridegroom, where how radiant her crown is, how extatic her joy, how high exalted she is in degree of glory, it is impossible to be described ; for neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man to be conceived, the good things which God hath prepared for those that love Him, of all which she is now partaker."

From this glowing description of the christian character, we may judge how little he was himself influenced by the varying professions of the world ; how innocent and prayerful was his own life in the midst of the violent parties that now divided the nation. The history of the English court at this period presents a confused scene of weakness and treachery, almost without a parallel. The King, yielding to the alternate

influence of the Dukes of Portsmouth, of Monmouth, the Duke of York, and Louis XIV, began to be wearied by their various interests and persuasions. He had no confidence in himself, or those about him. Real or pretended Popish and Protestant plots, the intrigues of his Cabal ministry, and of parties favouring the hollow pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth, or pressing for the exclusion of the Duke of York,—some designing a republic, others a constitutional monarchy,—had kept the public mind in a perpetual ferment. Charles became more than ever averse to business. His chief care was to obtain the means of gratifying his luxurious and profligate tastes, which compelled him to live the obsequious pensioner of France. His time was divided between Windsor, Newmarket, and Winchester.

At the last of these he now resolved to build a new palace. “Sir Christopher Wren was appointed the architect, who drew a plan and an elevation for the whole building, partly on the model of Versailles, in a style of royal magnificence. This being approved, he laid the foundation stone of the edifice, the 23rd March, 1683. The work was carried on with the greatest ardour; Charles himself, with the Duke of York, being frequently there for a considerable time together to inspect the building, from whence they made excursions to Portsmouth, and hunting parties in the New Forest.”* Evelyn says, “the destruction of the king’s house at Newmarket by an accidental fire made him more earnest to render Winchester the seat

* Milner’s Hist. of Winchester, vol. i. p. 429.

of his autumnal field diversions, designing a palace there, where the ancient castle stood, infinitely indeed preferable to Newmarket for prospects, air, pleasure and provisions. The surveyor has already begun the foundation for a palace, estimated to cost £35,000, and his majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a park, &c.”*

These royal visits to Winchester brought together a concourse of people of all classes, greater than the town could conveniently hold.

“The Duchess of Portsmouth finished out of hand a house for herself.” Of her ordinary habits of extravagance we may form some idea from Evelyn’s description of her apartments in the palace at Whitehall. He says, “following the king (14 Oct. 1683) through the gallery, I went with the few who attended him into the Duchess of Portsmouth’s dressing-room within her bed-chamber. That which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman’s apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt, to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty does not exceed some gentlemen’s ladies in furniture and accommodation. Thus for japan cabinets, screens, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braséras, all of massive silver, and out of number, — besides some of her Majesty’s best paintings.”†

Nell Gwyn also was one of the court circle, and of course to be provided for, though not so handsomely.

* Evelyn’s Diary, vol. i. p. 562.

† Ibid.

Strange to say, this was the occasion of placing Ken in a difficulty. He had a good house in the Cathedral Close, opposite to the Deanery where the king was to lodge. When "his Harbinger," whom we may suppose was an officer of the household, "came to Winton, he marked the Doctor's house, which he held in right of his prebend, for the use of Mrs. Gwin." But Ken's fearless heart at once prompted him to vindicate the holiness of his office. "He absolutely refused her admittance, declaring that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the house of a Clergyman, especially the King's Chaplain." This must have excited no small surprise among the courtiers; but as he was peremptory, "she was forced to seek other lodgings."* A small building was put up for her at the south end of the Deanery. "It was ever afterwards known by the name of Nell Gwyn, and has only been removed within the present century."†

He could not enter into the little worldly considerations of policy and prudence, that so often outweigh the clear dictates of conscience. His was no false or partial rule of conduct. The same simple zeal which had moved him, in the palace at the Hague, to protect the honour of Jane Worth, at the risk of offending the Prince of Orange, at once made him reject Nell Gwyn, though it should expose him to the king's resentment. Hawkins says, "his refusal of Mrs. Gwyn was publicly known." He had, in his measure, the

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 9.

† Dr. Moberly's *Biographical Memoir of Bishop Ken*, 1840, p. vi.

holy courage of the Baptist, to reprove adultery even in a palace: but very different was his reward. So far from being offended, Charles appears to have admired the Christian boldness of his chaplain, who was shortly after engaged in a secret service, which about that time occupied much of the King's thoughts.



CHAPTER X.

Ken appointed Chaplain of the Fleet on the expedition to Tangier — Voyage — The vicious government of Tangier — Corrupt state of the Navy.



It was now eight years since Ken had studied the polity and religion of Italy, and scarcely three since his return from the less polished court of Holland, when he received a hasty summons to leave once more his friends and flock for a barbarous and distant spot. The town of Tangier, in the straits of Gibraltar, had long been a source of great outlay to the king. At length his "intolerable expence, profuse gaming and dallying," as Evelyn describes them, brought him into such embarrassments that he could no longer afford to maintain the place.

He had received this African fortress and the island of Bombay on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, as part of her dower. Bombay, at that time esteemed of minor importance, has since become one of the most flourishing colonies of Britain; while Tangier, which now barely helps to supply Gibraltar with provisions, was reckoned of great value, as the key of the Mediterranean. The king had expended vast sums in constructing a mole for the defence of the harbour, made it a free port, and conferred upon it extensive privileges: but the money, being lavishly

applied, served rather to enrich the governors and engineers, than to promote the public service. The Parliament refused any further grants, distrusting the right application of them, and Charles was driven by his necessities to abandon this useless possession, where nothing but disorder, extravagance, and profligacy had prevailed. He determined, in the summer of 1683, to send a naval force of twenty ships, under Lord Dartmouth, with secret orders to destroy the fortifications, lest they should become formidable in the hands of the Moors.

Lord Dartmouth had always been high in favour with the King and Duke of York, out of respect both to the memory of his father, and his own loyal attachment to the throne. He was a rare example of fidelity and virtue in an age when public corruption so generally prevailed. His father was the brave Colonel Legge, one of the three devoted companions of Charles, when he escaped from Hampton Court. It is difficult to account for his not having met the same fate that befel so many loyalists, as he was several times imprisoned by the rebels. On one occasion at Coventry he was saved by the ingenious device of his wife, and passed through the guards without challenge in female disguise. The King, a short time before his execution, bequeathed this faithful friend as a legacy to the Prince of Wales, "charging him to take care of honest Will Legge, for he was the faithfullest servant that ever any Prince had." He declined the offer of a peerage on the Restoration, and died in 1670. The son distinguished himself in the naval service, rose to the rank of Admiral, was made master of the Ordnance, and a

Privy Counsellor, and in 1682 created Lord Dartmouth. He followed in the same path of steadfast adherence to his King, refused to the very last to abandon the Stuarts at the subsequent revolution, and died a prisoner in the Tower in 1691.

Samuel Pepys, afterwards Secretary of the Navy, was appointed to be of Lord Dartmouth's Council in this expedition to Tangier, of which his journal records many curious particulars.* He also was a great favourite with the King. As secretary to Sir Edward Montague, he accompanied him in the Royal Charles from Breda, on his restoration; and was with him in the same boat when he landed at Dover. He now received the Royal command to repair to Portsmouth "at less than eight and forty hours' warning."

It would appear from Pepys's correspondence that Ken's services, as Chaplain of the Fleet, were secured at the earnest desire of Dartmouth, who was anxious to improve the discipline and moral condition of the Navy. Afterwards, when Dartmouth was in command to oppose the landing of the Prince of Orange, Pepys wrote to Dr. Peachell, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, with an offer of the same appointment. He then says, "I was once concerned in the conveyance of a like application from the same hand, and on the very same occasion, to my reverend friend Dr. Ken, now Bishop of Bath and Wells. In a word, my Lord Dartmouth is to the last degree solicitous in the choice of his Chaplain, and judging that all the wished for qualifications (piety, authority, and learning) meet

* Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 2 vols. 8vo.

in you, is become a most earnest suitor to your acceptance of that charge. And I am by full experience in the case of Dr. Ken, convinced you could never do it with such a concurrence of circumstances, public and private, to render the same worthy your acceptance, as under the invitation and patronage of this noble Lord."

Enclosed in this letter was one from Dartmouth, expressing that the application was "for the good of the Church of England, which is so much concerned." "I think it of the highest importance to have the ablest and best man I can possibly obtain to go with me, both for the service of God, and the good government of the Clergy that are Chaplains in the Fleet. My most earnest request to you is, that if it be not too great an inconvenience, you would do me the honour and favour to go with me this short voyage. I beg it of you for God's sake! and as I am to answer to Him for the preservation of so many souls as He hath been pleased to put under my care. I have nothing more but to beg your prayers and blessing, with pardon for this confident desire."*

Nothing could be more deplorable than the general condition and character of the naval chaplains, whom Ken was now invited to superintend. The indignities and privations they suffered are well set forth in a representation from two of their body to Mr. Secretary Pepys.† They describe the ministers of the Church of England, serving at sea, as "too long navigant in a valley of tears: partly by misfortune, partly by their

* Pepys, vol. ii. p. 149. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 203.

own faults, but chiefly by the iniquity of the times. The Chaplains of His Majesty's ships set out unfurnished with books and necessaries; and are forced on mean compliances from shifts sometimes, and base tricks. Hence they meet with neglects and contempts that always attend poverty. They want comforts which some of the meanest in the ship enjoy. Their small pay, equal but to a common seaman's, &c. The Chaplain is scarcely reckoned an Officer: he has no power even in his own office, not daring to order the bell to ring to prayers, but with leave first had of the Captain. Besides, the hours of prayer are not fixed and stated; but being left to the Commander's pleasure are sometimes omitted, as his particular business, indisposition, or indevotion incline. Hence great neglects, and sometimes total omission of divine service, which makes the Chaplain looked upon as useless, and, as the seamen sometimes tell him to his face, having their money for nothing," &c. The remedies they propose are a proof of the sad degradation and neglect of the services of religion at that day in the fleets: to instance one only, "that the King allow a great Bible, and surplice, and several books of Common Prayer to each ship."

Some surprise has been expressed, that Dr. Ken should undertake an employment so opposed to his peaceful habits and inclinations, especially as he was chaplain to the King, and in the high road to preferment at home. Such a feeling would argue but a slight acquaintance with the motives that governed his whole life. Whether or no the King laid his commands on him to join an enterprize in which he took

so great an interest, it is needless to seek motives for his acceptance of the appointment. Such an appeal as Dartmouth's would carry with it irresistible arguments: it struck a chord that vibrated to Ken's warm and simple heart. If he would, he dared not consult his own ease, when "the good government of the clergy that were Chaplains in the fleet, and the preservation of so many souls were at stake." The quiet fulfilment of his duties at Winchester might have justified his refusal. But he yielded all to the great objects thus laid before him. He received the summons as an indication of God's will, knowing that in the midst of tumult and war, or in the recesses of solitude, the true minister of Christ may equally bear the divine commission. If employed in his Master's service, he was content. Whether it were at home or abroad, in Africa or England, he surrendered himself to his appointed work.

His farewell to his friends must needs have been a hasty one, as he had very little more notice to prepare himself than was granted to Pepys. Most probably they went together to Portsmouth; for Pepys says he slept at Winchester on the 31st of July, *dined at the College* the 1st of August, and that evening slept at Portsmouth,* where Lord Dartmouth joined them on the 3rd. "So all went on board for good and all on the 8th of August 1683." He writes to his friend Evelyn that "the King's command (without any account of the reason of it) required my repair hither at less than eight and forty hours' warning. What our

* Pepys, vol. i. p. 327.

work is I am not solicitous to learn, nor forward to make guesses at, it being handled by our Masters as a secret. This only I am sure of; that, over and above the satisfaction of being thought fit for some use or other, ('tis no matter what) I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightful as companions of the first form in divinity, law, physic, and the usefullest parts of mathematics can render it, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull,* Dr. Lawrence,† and Mr. Sheres; with the additional pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes and violins; and to fill up all, good humour, good cheer, some good books, &c, and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than two months."

Evelyn, who in his Diary frequently expresses his respect for Ken, congratulates Pepys on "such a noble and choice company, such useful and delightful conversation. You leave us so naked at home that, till you return from Barbary, we are in danger of becoming barbarians. The heroes are all embarked with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys; nay, they seem to carry with them not a colony only, but a College, nay a whole University, all the sciences, all the arts, and all the Professors of them too."‡ His friend Houlton also expresses his "hope that the excellent company you have, all Masters of Arts and sciences, with music of all sorts, will divert your melancholy thoughts of leaving Old England, and some of your friends."§

* Judge Advocate of the Expedition.

† Physician to Lord Dartmouth.

‡ Pepys, vol. i. p. 326.

§ Ibid. p. 328.

"The Fleet made several attempts to put to sea : but the wind was contrary ; all at West and overblowing.

"12th August. Sunday. Being at anchor off St. Helen's, morning prayers and sermon by Dr. Ken ; prayers in the afternoon.

"19th. Sunday. Weighed and stood out to sea with the Fleet : all day blowing fresh. No sermon, but prayers twice by Dr. Ken.

"22nd. Morning fair. Land off the start. Afternoon, anchor in Plymouth Sound. My Lord staying on board, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Ken, &c. in a boat on shore.

"2nd September. Sunday. Noon, prayers. The King's declaration about the late (Rye House) Plot publickly read. The next Sunday, the 9th, appointed to be observed as a thanksgiving, for His Majesty's deliverance. Discourse about Spirits, Dr. Ken asserting there were such, and I, with the rest, denying it : referred to another night's discourse.

"9th September. Sunday. Up to read by myself some chapters in the Bible ; by and by to prayers. This being the day of Thanksgiving for the King's late deliverance, Dr. Ken gave us a very good sermon on the duty of subjects to their Prince.

"11th. After Supper in my Lord's cabin, Dr. Ken and I were very hot in dispute about Spirits.

"12th. Dr. Ken produced his arguments for Spirits from the ancient actings of the Oracles, which I took upon me, against the next time, to answer."*

It is not perfectly clear whether these friendly dis-

* Pepys, vol. i. p. 331-353.

putes referred to the question of Satanic influence, exercised in the Delphic and other ancient oracles ; or to a belief of the continued supernatural agency of spirits ; or, if the latter, to what extent Dr. Ken maintained it.

With regard to the ancient oracles, Ken would probably adopt the view taken by the fathers of the Church, that prior to the Christian dispensation they were influenced by Satanic power, though their responses were often overruled for good ; but that such influence had ceased on the advent of our Saviour, or at least on the fall of paganism under Theodosius. Pepys on the other hand was evidently of opinion, with many learned Christian writers, that the heathen oracles were of human invention, for priestly or political ends ; a mere imposture, without any supernatural interposition.

As to the continued agency of spirits, it was so generally admitted at the time we speak of, as even to degenerate into many vulgar errors and superstitions. Dæmonology and witchcraft, though greatly modified, still continued an extensively popular belief. Ken, doubtless, thought with that greatest of Christian philosophers, Robert Boyle, that there was a broad distinction between the assumed powers of magical influence, and the presence and energy of spiritual intelligences, good and evil, not permitted only, but ordained, to work out the purposes of the Most High. These last are matters, not of philosophical dispute, but of divine revelation. "I remember not," says Boyle, "that I have hitherto met with any, at least cogent, proof that miracles were to cease with the age

of the Apostles, and not only the excellent Grotius, but Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, and other ancients, tell us that the power of ejecting Devils out of possessed persons lasted long after that, and was not unfrequent in the Christian Church. This is an age when many do take upon them to decide all that is supernatural; and while they loudly cry up reason, make no better use of it than to employ it, first to depose faith, and then to serve their passions and interest.”*

If Pepys meant to contend that the existence of Spirits, or miraculous influences, are not to be proved by philosophy and the light of nature, the same objection might be made to any other mysteries of the faith. Let the claimant to philosophy explain the dominion of his will over his own fearful and wonderful organization. Let him define and fathom the life, sense, reason, by which he exists and acts, and lay his hand upon any link of the chain that binds the physical and spiritual being: then, and not till then, let him question the invisible agencies, and mysterious interpositions by which the ever present Deity conducts to its issue the mortal trial of His creatures. “Weigh me the weight of the fire, and measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past. Then answered I, and said, What man is able to do that, that thou shouldst ask such things of me?” And what was the Archangel’s reply? “Thine own things, and such as are grown up with thee, canst thou not know: how should

* Birch’s Life of Boyle, p. 76.

thy vessel, then, be able to comprehend the way of the Highest? *•

We walk continually on the confines of the spiritual world: it is on our right hand, and on our left. — Thoughtful and reverent minds realize this at every step: it is at once their discipline and their comfort: it urges them to frequent prayer, keeps them ever watchful against evil, and strengthens them by the conviction of the presence of ministering angels. Instances of divine interposition through visions, and mysterious suggestions of the Spirit, are numerous and clearly established.† They are surely not less realities, nor less confirmed to our deliberate convictions, because impalpable to the senses. However much, amidst the whirl of outward objects, men may boast their indifference or incredulity, there are moments when in the stillness of solitude, or in the darkness of the night, the stoutest hearts will beat at the least unexplained noise or appearance, and witness to their involuntary belief in the deep unsearchable mysteries of the world unseen.

The first notice of these friendly discussions on the voyage occurs on the 2nd of September, and they were renewed from time to time, till they cast anchor within the Bay of Tangier. Revelation being as far above reason, as reason is beyond the senses, the disputants, viewing the subject through different media, might have sailed round the world before they had adjusted their difference. The state of things at Tan-

* *Esdas* iv. v. 10-11 — Compare *Job* xxvi. v. 14.

† Compare Bishop Bull on the nature and office of Angels.

gier soon turned their minds in another direction : we hear no more of arguments, except when they took the same side to reprove " the viciousness of the place."

The discussions served at least to beguile the weary days on board ship. But besides his official duties, conversation, and music, Ken had another employment in the indulgence of his taste for poetry ; for he now composed his epic poem of EDMUND. It must be confessed that this vies with the tediousness of the African voyage. It seems strange that the lively author of the Three Hymns, and other holy songs published after his death, should have indited twelve such anomalous Cantos. Our reverence for the author forbids any criticisms or quotations. It had been well for his poetic fame if the Epic had been consigned to a like fate with the subject of his verse, the Royal Edmund,

" Heroe, Martyr, Saint and King,"

whom he describes to have been cast into the sea by the sailors, on a voyage to Anglia, at the instigation of demons and monsters of the deep.

The fleet arrived at Tangier after five weeks' passage.

" 14th September. Up by break of day (entering the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) to see the shore on both sides to my great pleasure. About 10, within the Bay of Tangier.

" 15th. Up betimes to look with a glass on the Moors' camp."* (They had laid siege to the town with a considerable army.)

They found the place unworthy of the vast expense

* Pepys, vol. i, pp. 354-5.

incurred in its improvement. "How could any body ever think a place fit to be kept at this charge that, overlook'd by so many hills, can never be secured against an enemy!" "The place an ordinary place. Amazed to think how the King hath laid out so much money upon it. Wondered at the folly of the King's being at all this charge upon this town." "The least part of our ministers' mistakes, in reference to Tangier, hath been leading the King to squandering near two millions upon what as much more would never make useful to him." The Commissioners, appointed to survey the fortifications, reported that "to secure the place on the land side would require two millions."*

Lord Dartmouth, Dr. Ken, and every one else, suffered more or less from the ill effects of the African climate. "The expedition should have been sent two months sooner, that they might have had long days, and fair weather above head, to work on the mole, before the storms and seas came on." But the greatest disappointment was the ignorance, supineness, and corruption of the people at Tangier, who were to assist in executing the King's orders: so that, instead of being back in two months, it took almost four to destroy the fortifications. Dartmouth sometimes almost despaired of accomplishing the design from the want of discipline among the naval commanders, "whose whole care was to profit themselves, and not the public service." He had also to contend against the corrupt influence, and secret opposition, of Colonel Kirke, the Governor, a ruthless barbarian and tyrant.

* Pepys, *passim*.

Such was the degradation of the navy in the latter part of this reign that, had the war with Holland continued, England must have suffered total defeat. The King's ships were "converted into carriers of merchandize and treasure, for their own advantage, from Cadiz, up and down the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Portugal, &c. to the corrupting of the commanders and others." "We have every day fresh instances of their debaucheries, the King's own son, Grafton, being the top of all." "The tyranny and vice of Kirke is stupendous, as by infinite stories appears; and his exactions on poor merchants, letting nothing be sold till he had the refusal."*

Dr. Ken did all in his power to stem this torrent of immorality, but in vain.

"30th September. Sunday. To church (in Tangier); a very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful, argument from Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the Governor, and the officers about us in church; but I perceived they regarded it not.

"26th October. Being a little ill, and troubled at so much loose company at table, my Lord not being there, I dined in my chamber; and Dr. Ken, for the same reason, came and dined with me. We had a great deal of good discourse on the viciousness of this place, and it's being time for Almighty God to destroy it.

"28th October. Sunday. Very high discourse between Dr. Ken and me on the one side, and the Go-

* Pepys, vol. i, p. 403.

vernor (Kirke) on the other, about the excessive liberty of swearing we observe here. The Doctor, it seems, had preached on it to-day."

At length, by the middle of January 1684, the fortifications were destroyed : but the same causes of delay, the treaty with the Moors for the release of the Christian slaves, arranging the compensation to the English, Portuguese, and other settlers for their loss of property, and getting them all on board, prevented their sailing for England till the 5th of March.



CHAPTER XI.

Ken returns to England—Death of Izaak Walton; and of Bishop Morley—Ken appointed to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells—Attends the death bed of Charles II.

THE fleet from Tangier moored off Spithead the first week in April. It would appear from Pepys's Diary that Ken and others landed at Portsmouth, which was the nearest point to his friends at Winchester. We may imagine the alacrity with which he escaped from the confusion and noise on shipboard, so little congenial to his habits. No doubt he had found this sphere of usefulness disappointing to his hopes. The prevailing corruption and immorality at Tangier, and throughout the fleet, were beyond his control or influence. What anticipations of hope and fear must he have felt, as he came within sight of the Church of St. Cross, and after that the well known town of Winchester. Alas! he was to receive no welcome from the loved lips, that for so many years had cheered him onward in his path; they were closed for this world. The devout Walton had fallen asleep; and he not by to receive his last words, and be the minister of Christian solace in his parting hour! Few men in so humble a sphere had lived a more useful life: the memory of few is more cherished. His writings are the mirror of a meek spirit, purified by a simple devotion to God. It is not too much to say that they have been our comfort

under trials, and the companion of our holiday walks: they have made us love the pleasantness of the mountains,—they have decked the meadows with more than their native flowers, and have made the falls of rivers more musical; for they lift the hearts of the afflicted to their only Comforter, and the thankful praises of the happy to the divine Author of every blessing. Ken amidst his regrets for such a loss had the best comfort of mourners,—the conviction that he who had been to him all but a spiritual father, had left this jangling world, the discord of “bad man on earth,” for an eternal rest and harmony.

Walton had been already buried three months within Prior Silkstead’s Chapel, in the Cathedral, where he and Ken had for many years joined in the services of the Church they both loved so well, and had each, in his sphere, so zealously served. We may judge of their mutual attachment by the epitaph that still marks the place of Walton’s burial, and which in all likelihood was written by Ken himself.

HERE RESTETH THE BODY OF
MR. IZAAC WALTON,
WHO DIED THE 15TH OF DECEMBER
1683.

*Alas he’s gone before,
Gone to return no more!
Our panting breasts aspire,
After their aged fire;
Whose well spent life did last
Full ninety yeares and past.
But now he bath begun
That which will ne’er be done.
Crown’d with eternal blisse,
We wish our souls with his.*

VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI.

He had not been forgotten in Walton's will: being of the number to whom a ring was bequeathed, engraved "to my brother Dr. Ken," with this motto, "A friend's farewell, J. W. obiit 15th Dec. 1683." But he received a memorial of still greater value, which had probably been promised to him in Walton's lifetime as a pledge of their affection for each other. Dr. Donne before his death had sent to each of his dearest friends a ring of Heliotropian, or blood stone, on which was engraved the figure of the blessed Saviour, extended upon the cross of an anchor, the emblem of hope. Izaak Walton



was in the list; also Sir Henry Wootton; Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, and Mr. George Herbert. It was Walton's happiness, and his praise, to be one of such a Christian circle: he cherished the gift during his life, *and sealed his last will with it*, declaring his "belief in all poynts of faith, as the Church of England now professeth." All Ken's letters in the Bodleian Library, and in the possession of Dr. Williams, Warden of New College, bear the impress of this seal, *as also his own will*, in which he professed his adherence to the "Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross." On Ken's death it descended to Isaac Walton, junior, *who likewise sealed his will with it*, bearing equal testimony to the "Communion of the Church of England, as having reformed herself with that sound judgement and godly sincerity, as to be the soundest and purest part of the Church Catholic at this time existent." Thus in life they were all united by

the closest bonds of affection, and in death each was a witness to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith of the Anglican Church. This little Heliotropean stone, set in a golden ring, and descending from one to the other as an heir loom, was a type of the succession of holy men, which will never be wanting in the Church of Christ.

Twelve months had not glided over the grave of this venerable friend, before Ken was bereaved of another, scarcely less dear to him, — one to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude, and by kindred virtues. He was summoned to Farnham Castle to receive the parting benediction of the munificent, learned, and self-denying Bishop of Winchester. Morley had abounded in good works, which he knew to be the only riches he could carry with him when he died: he bestowed his wealth freely for the good of others. He did not “fare sumptuously every day;” for he had but one meal in the twenty-four hours, practised great austerity, “rose at 5 o’clock winter and summer, and in the coldest mornings never had a fire, or his bed warmed at night.” When his infirmities conducted him to his long home, that it might be to him a place of everlasting rest and happiness, he did humbly in his last days beg all good men’s prayers.* The King, when he appointed him to the See of Winchester, foretold that he would never be the richer for it: and the prediction was verified. His hospital at Winchester, built and endowed for the support of Clergymen’s widows, (himself unmarried) is one example of his munificence. Again, the rebuilding of Wolversey House

* Wood’s Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 772.

for the Episcopal Palace; the vast sums he expended on Farnham Castle, and the purchase of Winchester House at Chelsea, for the benefit of his successors in the See; his rich benefactions to Christ Church in Oxford; his almost unequalled contributions towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, after the fire, with many other instances, testified that his chosen treasury was in heaven. Ken had the happiness by his presence to soothe the last moments of his dying patron. When the spirit was fled he sent a messenger to his friend Francis Turner, now Bishop of Ely, that he might announce the event to the Primate. Turner's letter to Sancroft is in the Bodleian Library.

" Bromley, October 30, 1684.

" May it please your Grace,
 " LATE yesterday I received an express from Dr. Ken, written from Farnham, to inform me that it pleased God to release the good old Bishop out of the miseries of this life, between two and three of the clock yesterday morning. So he was gathered under the feet of St. Simon and St. Jude. I suppose this authentic intelligence was sent me to Ely House on purpose that I might transmit it to your Grace at Lambeth, together with my truest duty, which I shall present in my personal attendance (if it please God) upon Sunday morning.

" May it please your Grace, I am
 Your most obliged, most obedient
 and most affectionate humble servant
 FRAN. ELIE."*

* Tanner MSS. Vol. xxxii. p. 165.

Morley was buried in a little vault at the foot of the steps leading up to the choir of Winchester Cathedral. He lies in peace in the same holy ground as his great predecessor Wykeham, and his humble friend Izaak Walton. Bishop Morley's will might serve as a model in this age, so neglectful of the charge and privileges that our wealth lays upon us, when few men in their last appointments make any provision for the Church and the poor. It marks his earnest desire to promote the spiritual advancement of his diocese. "As to my worldly goods and estate which it hath pleased God to entrust me with, part whereof I have already bestowed unto God, by giving it unto the Church, and to the poor for God's sake ; and as to the remainder, all my books to the dean and Chapter of Winchester, and to their successors, for and towards a public library, but not for them, and their successors' use and benefit only, but also for the use and benefit of such clergymen and country parsons, vicars, and curates of my Diocese, as have not a sufficient stock of books of their own, nor have money to buy them." "I give £1,000 for the purchasing of £50 per an. yearly for ever ; and of which I give £20 per an. for an augmentation to the Vicaridge of Farnham in Surrey, to be paid presently after it is purchased, which I hope will be in six months after my decease, if not before I die, to the present Vicar and his successors, by £10 every half year for ever : but upon condition, First, that the Vicar who is to have this augmentation, shall always reside upon this Vicaridge, notwithstanding any dispensation. Second, upon condition also that he or his curates do read the Common Prayer, not only on Sundays and Holydays, Wednesdays and Fri-

days, but *every day in the week, morning and evening*, at some such hours, as most of devout and well affected people may most conveniently resort unto it. Item £20 a year for an augmentation of maintainance to the two Parish Churches of Guildford, and £10 for an augmentation to the Vicaridge of Horfwell, in Surrey, upon condition the vicar for the time being do read the Service of the Church, or the Common Prayer, *morning and evening daily*, as the Vicar of Farnham is obliged to do."

Ken might now be supposed to have lost his best patron, and with him the prospect of further promotion. Faithful and intrepid monitors of royalty are not usually sharers in court favours. As he had never sought these, we might expect that, amidst the prevailing corruption, one so innocent and unpretending would be overlooked. But it was otherwise ordained. Though he had dared to rebuke the king's mistress, and thus to remind Charles himself of his own neglected duties, he met with a very unexpected return.

Charles was not wanting in discernment of character; he at least knew how to reverence in another the dignity of virtues he could not imitate. He who had once knelt at the bed side of Bishop Duppa to ask a Tutor's dying blessing now generously forgave, if ever he seriously repented, his Chaplain's conscientious faithfulness in reproof. Ken's simplicity and blameless life had commended him to the veneration of all men: his bold and fervid eloquence inspired even the thoughtless monarch with a sense of awe. On a former occasion, when he was appointed to preach before the Court at Whitehall, Charles left the circle of his vicious flat-

terers, saying "I must go and hear Ken tell me of my faults." Now when he was to decide on the appointment of a new Bishop, he enquired in his own characteristic way, "Where is the good little man that refused his lodging to poor Nell?"

Independently of this personal respect, other considerations perhaps weighed with the King in Dr. Ken's advancement. He could not doubt his allegiance in all that might consist with the interests of the Church. Moreover, Ken held the doctrines of passive obedience, and non-resistance; therefore might be expected to maintain the prerogative of the Crown in any extremity. And where could Charles hope to find a more steadfast loyalist than in the friend of Morley, and the brother of Walton? Honest Izaak had been entrusted, after the battle of Worcester, with the custody of the lesser George. He received it from Mr. Milward, a loyalist prisoner in the garrison of Stafford, and restored it to Colonel Blague, who gave it into the King's own hand.*

Ken had always shown a steadfastness of principle, equally removed from both extremes in religious controversy. Whilst he opposed Papal innovations, and avowed his attachment to the "Protestant Reformed Church of England," he had no sympathy with prejudices that rejected the very word "*Catholic*," and denounced the solemn rites of religion, and the doctrines of Sacramental grace, as Popish and superstitious. It was even said that the King, and Duke of York

* Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 228.

entertained the hope that he might be brought over to the Roman faith.

Be this as it may, the death of his friend Morley was the immediate prelude to his own advancement. Dr. Mews being translated from Bath and Wells to Winchester, it was at once resolved that Ken should be appointed to the former See. "The King himself stopped all attempts of his friends (who would of their own inclination have applied in his behalf) with this remarkable saying, that Dr. Ken should succeed, but that he designed it should be from his own peculiar appointment, and accordingly the king himself gave order for a *Congé d'elire* to pass the Seals for that purpose."* Lord Sunderland thus writes to Dr. Mews;

"Whitehall, 4th Nov. 1684.

"My Lord,

"THE King having been pleased to nominate your Lordship (of whose good services to the Church and himself he is abundantly satisfied) to succeed the late Lord Bishop of Winton in that See, I would not omit advising you thereof by the first opportunity: and also to let you know the particular satisfaction I have in it, as being

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.†

The following letter of the same date in the Lord Chamberlain's office, appointing another Chaplain to

* Hawkins, p. 8. † Morley died 29th October, 1684.

† Secretary of State's Letter Books.

preach in Ken's stead, shows that there was no hesitation in the King's mind.

" Court at Whitehall, Nov. 4th, 1684.

" Sir,

" WHEREAS I have thought fit to appoint you to give your attendance upon His Majestie, and preach in the moneth of February, *in the place of Dr. Ken, who is removed to be a Bishop*, These are therefore to pray and require you to take notice hereof, and that you may make your repayre unto His Majestie's Court wherefoever it shall then be, &c. &c.

Your loving friend,

ARLINGTON."

For Mr. Henry Fox, one of His Majestie's
Chaplaynes in ordinary in wayting in ye
moneth of February.

After his election, he went through the usual forms of Confirmation, and took once more the OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, that turning point of the events which marked the last twenty years of his life. At length the day of his consecration was fixed for the 25th of January, 1685. They only who have known the inner thoughts of responsibility and misgiving that possessed their own minds, when they themselves were called to any holy function in the Church, can appreciate the spirit of the prayer and self humiliation in which he must have prepared himself. He was consecrated at Lambeth Palace on the Festival of St. Paul, the 25th of January 1685. There had been few periods in the history of the English Church, when the duties of the office more needed the qualities of that great

Apostle : and seldom, perhaps, was it undertaken with more singleness of purpose, humility, and self devotion. He could not but foresee that perilous times would come ; and like St. Paul he was “ willing to be offered.” His fears were soon verified in the confusions that prevailed ; in his sufferings he bore testimony to the steadfast faith which animated him.

His friend Francis Turner had been made Bishop of Rochester in 1683, and in the next year translated to Ely : he had now the happiness to give Ken his blessing, and with the Archbishop and others to lay his hands upon his head, that he might receive admission into the same holy office. The consecration sermon was preached by another early Wykehamist friend, and Co-Fellow of Winchester College, Edward Young, a Prebendary of Salisbury. Fortunately this is extant : it contains passages of great force, which throw light on some points of Ken’s character. Perhaps he had exacted of the preacher a promise to abstain from anything like praise. His affection, founded on a long acquaintance with his virtues, could not be entirely repressed : but he has treated his subject with such skill, that he draws throughout the true portrait of his friend, though given in the person of Timothy, as combining all the qualities of “ a man of confirmed Faith.”

His text is taken from the 2nd Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy ch. i. v. 6. “ *Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the Gift of God, which is in thee by the laying on of hands.*” He blesses God for the great happiness and glory of the Church in the King’s solicitude to make choice of one who by his

ardent love and zeal would lead men towards Heaven. Speaking of the unwillingness of Bishops in the primitive ages to undertake the office, from its responsibilities and danger, he intimates that Ken had not only been "wish't and nominated, but fought, woo'd and commanded out of his retirement to the undertaking of the charge." He tells him not to scruple; for "when God (Who makes sufficient whom He pleaseth) determines such a charge for a man, then compliance is safe, and the blessing indubitable; it is a providential designation," &c.

The Gift or Effusion of the Holy Ghost, which Timothy received at his consecration, he distributes into three particular graces, enumerated by St. Paul in the verse following the text, *might, love, and a sound mind*; and all these he applies to Ken with suitable encouragements and advice.*

He winds up his eloquent discourse with this exhortation and promise to Ken: "And now (O Timothy) see, here are the arts of thy Government; continue in these, and thou needest no other policy; God will take all the other care that is necessary for the establishment of His own Church. Do thou "stir up the Gift of God which is in thee;" do thou quicken the divine "coal that toucheth thee," and thy coal shall blaze into a flame, and thy flame shall be ennobled into a star, a vast orb of light, such as shall crown the head of all those happy men, who by their conduct and example "turn many unto righteousness."

Thus at the age of 48 Ken was raised to the most

* Appendix C.

responsible labours of the Church, he had always loved with such a consistent devotion. He was no longer to enjoy a retirement, that favours the sacrifice of earthly affections, being called to a wider range of public duties. Yet in this elevation we shall find him more and more fervent in the exercise of the lowly graces of charity, self denial, and prayer. In all his previous offices he had maintained an unblemished purity, and subjection of his will to the law of Christ, not less required, though more difficult to cherish, amid the engagements and distractions of a higher sphere. His steadfastness had already been tried in a subordinate station. Now, as the favourite of an irreligious Prince, whose very preference of him might involve temptations to unfaithful acquiescence, he was called to a yet more rigid exercise of constancy in maintaining the truth of doctrine, and purity of life, openly set at nought in a profligate court. To be humble and meek, yet jealous for God's honour, patient and forbearing, yet bold in reproof, required the exercise of qualities not generally united in the same person.

It was on Sunday, and the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, that he had been consecrated a Bishop. Could we but follow him into his closet on that night, what a picture would be offered to us of a penitent, humble man, prostrate on the ground in fervent prayer to his Lord. How little congenial with the surrounding tumult of a dissipated city was his employment on that evening of his earthly exaltation, imploring the graces of the Holy Spirit, by Whom alone he could himself attain to any perfection, or teach mankind the value of their undying souls. This is no imaginary

picture of Ken's employment on the evening of his consecration. It had been usual on these occasions for the new Bishop, at his own charge, but in the palace of the Archbishop, to give "a very splendid and magnificent dinner to the greatest of the nobility, clergy, judges, privy counsellors, &c. honouring it with their presence."* Instead of this he dedicated the sum it would have cost to a holier purpose.

He was poor in this world's possessions. In disposing of the income of his Fellowship, and Prebendal stall at Winchester, he considered himself simply as God's almoner. To purchase a heavenly treasure he had parted with all he had; so that when he was consecrated Bishop, Mr. Francis Morley, the nephew of his late friend, "knowing how little he had provided for such an expence as attends the entry and continuance in such a chair, most generously offered, and lent him, a considerable sum to defray his expences, and furnish him with an equipage as his station required."† But even of this benevolence he made a first fruit's offering to the glory of God. In the general list of contributors to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, destroyed in the late fire of London, we find this entry:—

January 26th, 1684-5, Dr. Thomas Ken,	} £100
Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in lieu	
of his consecration dinner and gloves.‡	

* Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitiæ*, part ii. p. 22, 1682.

† Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 20.

‡ Dugdale's *Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 168. Dr. John Fell first set this example two years before, when he was consecrated to the See of Oxford.

This was on Monday, the day after his consecration. Well might Hawkins say, "if any should imagine that he was given to extravagance, in that having enjoyed such preferments he was still poor, it may be observed that, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was such in that most excellent gift of charity."* And again, "his whole fortune lying in his preferments, those of his relations who were necessitous (but whom he could never regard the less for their being so) were a continual drain on his revenue: and he seemed to joy with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well being, than that thereby he was at liberty to dispense the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers, which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became *a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction.*"†

And now, in order to estimate the difficulties that were likely to beset his path, let us, from the meditations of this prayerful Christian "in his closet addresses to his God,"‡ turn to the spectacle of King Charles, and his dissolute court, on the same evening. "I can never forget, (says the faithful chronicler and witness of the scene) the inexpressible luxury, and prophaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at Bassett

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 21. † Ibid. p. 22. ‡ Ibid. p. 5.

round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen, who were with me, made reflections with astonishment. *Six days after all was in the dust.*”*

Yes,—within one short week from his consecration, Ken, “who was in greater favour than all the Bishops,”† was suddenly summoned to the bed side of the dying King. The cold hand was already laid upon him. Dismay and confusion now reigned within the palace, which but as yesterday furnished a scene of such manifold wickedness as Evelyn says, “he had never before seen.”‡ The death-summons came over that ungodly crew like the hand-writing on the wall at Belshazzar’s feast. “Then the king’s countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other.” Burnet thus describes the fatal attack of Charles; “the physician was scarce come in, when the King, who seemed all the while to be in great confusion, fell down all of a sudden in a fit, like an apoplexy: he looked black, and his eyes turned in his head.”§

Did we justly view it, the life of a reprobate man is a dreadful spectacle; how much more his death! Whether peasant or king, each is susceptible of the same vileness, each reserved for a like doom, according to the measure of his opportunities misused. In life, a throne can lift the one but a few steps above the

* Evelyn’s Diary, vol. i. p. 585.

† Burnet’s Hist. of his own Times.

‡ Evelyn’s Diary, vol. i. p. 579.

§ Burnet’s Hist. of his own Times.

earth on which the other toils: in death, a common grave reduces them to a level; some few feet above or below the surface makes the king, or the corpse. Ken could not but be deeply affected by the awful scene. Where he had before been a monitor, he would now fain act the part of a comforter. To this end he must do all within his power to awaken the King to some timely repentance, and so snatch him, if God should permit, from the avenging angel, whose sword was even now lifted above his guilty, though anointed head.

“ Archbishop Sancroft, and the Bishops of London, Durham and Ely were present; but more especially Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.”* “ And now, at this juncture it was, when the King’s period of life drew near, his distemper seizing his head, and our Bishop, well knowing how much had been put off to that last point, and fearing the strength of his distemper would give but little time (as indeed it proved) his duty urging him, he gave a close attendance by the royal bed, *without any intermission at least for three whole days and nights*, watching at proper intervals, to suggest pious and proper thoughts, and ejaculations on so serious an occasion.”† “ Having homely urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance, the Bishop several times proposed the administration of the Holy Sacrament. But although it was not absolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, till (I know not by what authority)

* Evelyn’s Diary, vol. i. p. 580.

† Hawkins’s Life of Ken, p. 10.

the Bishop, and all others present, were put forth from the presence for about the space of half an hour, during which time it has been suggested that Father Huddleston was admitted to give extreme unction.”*

Such is the simple narrative of Hawkins, the Bishop's nephew, and no doubt derived from Ken himself. It differs essentially from that of Burnet, who was not present, and according to his frequent custom ventures unauthenticated and prejudiced statements. He admits, however, that Ken “applied himself much to the awakening of the King's conscience. He spoke with great elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as those who were present told me. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers which affected all that were present, except him that was the most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answers to him. He pressed the King six or seven times to receive the Sacrament: but the King always declined it, saying he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it, ready to be consecrated, was brought into the room, which occasioned a report to be then spread about that he had received it. Ken pressed him to declare that he desired it, and that he died in communion of the Church of England. To that he answered nothing. Ken asked him if he desired absolution of his sins. It seems the King, if he then thought anything at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So Ken pronounced it over him: for which he was blamed, since the King expressed no sense of

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 12.

sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one who, after a life led as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against everything that could be said to him."*

Nothing can be more culpably erroneous than this last part of Burnet's statement. It is one of the many instances of the prejudice and unscrupulous boldness of this writer, who was a principal mover of the Revolution, and implacable towards the house of Stuart, of which Ken was so inflexible an adherent. Burnet was a powerful disputant in the controversies of his time: as an historian, so partial, that our admiration of his talents frequently yields to astonishment at his unfaithfulness. As a counsellor of William, he inflicted deep wounds on the Church of England, and lent his aid to abolish in Scotland the Apostolic rule. His account of the last moments of Charles is inconsistent with itself. He would have it appear that the King neither thought, nor spoke, nor cared about religion: yet in another place he admits that "after such a confession to Huddleston, the Priest, as he could make (in his exhausted state) and receiving absolution, and the other Sacraments, he seemed to be at great ease upon it." He was not present at the scene; and he might have given Bishop Ken credit for an exact judgment in pronouncing the peace of the Church, admitting, as he does, that he "spoke like a man inspired."

Surely we may believe, that in the long days and nights, during which this holy messenger had watched

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

by the bed side of the dying King, while his exhortations were seconded by pain, and the fearful looking for of what was to come, he could best decide on the proper moment for pronouncing absolution. He was aided, too, by the judgment of the four other prelates who were present. Ken knew the ministerial authority committed to him. Our Church, in her Ordination Office, has solemnly invested her priests with the power of absolution. In her Order for the Visitation of the Sick, she has directed them, on confession of sin, to pronounce pardon "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We could, therefore, readily excuse the Bishop, if for the "Lord's anointed" he felt a deep,—nay, even were it an indulgent,—anxiety to convey to him the most joyful tidings that could be brought to the ears of a dying man. Great is the value of an immortal soul, over which the angels of heaven rejoice: and with all the awful apprehensions we must ever entertain of the efficacy of a death-bed repentance, Ken would lose nothing in our esteem, if he yearned to pronounce the blessing, "By His authority committed unto me I absolve thee."*

But he requires no apology: Burnet's assertions that Charles died impenitent, and that Ken improperly gave him absolution, are simply unfounded. We have the clearest evidence of those who were present that the King repeatedly confessed his sins, and gave tokens of contrition.

* The Visitation of the Sick.—Book of Common Prayer.

1st. We have seen from Hawkins's account (the best of all testimony, because he must have received it from Ken himself) that "the Bishop urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance."*

2nd. The Duke of York, the King's brother, tells us that "the Bishop of Bath, and another Bishop, read the Visitation of the Sick, when the King was despaired of. The King saying that he repented of his sins, the Bishop read Absolution to him."†

3rd. We have a detailed statement of the whole scene from the Chaplain of the Bishop of Ely, who was in the room. Though certainly not free from the adulation which then so deeply infected all within the influence of the court, it may be taken as some cumulation of proof. Among other things he says "'twas a great piece of Providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he had died on Monday, when the fit first took him. By these few days' respite he had opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another world. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, watching on Wednesday night (as my Lord had done the night before) there appearing then some danger, began to discourse with him as a Divine: and therefore he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the other Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, with very good ejaculations, and

* Life of Ken, p. 11.

† Macpherson's Original papers, vol. i. p. 142.

short speeches, till his speech quite left him ; and afterwards by lifting up his hand, expressing his attention to the prayers.”*

4th. The last and most conclusive testimony of the King's penitence is Huddleston's "*Brief Account.*"—“ I was called, he says, into the King's bed-chamber, where approaching to the bed-side and kneeling down, I in brief presented his Majesty with what service I could perform for God's honour, and the happiness of his soul at this last moment on which eternity depends. The King then declared himself: that he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church ; that he was most heartily sorry for all the sins of his life past, and particularly that he had deferred his reconciliation so long ; and through the merits of Christ's Passion he hoped for Salvation ; that he was in charity with all the world ; that with all his heart he pardoned his enemies, and desired pardon of all those whom he had anywise offended, and that if it pleased God to spare him longer life, he would amend it, detesting all sin. I then advertized his Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, which advertizement the King most willingly embracing, made an exact confession of his whole life with exceeding compunction and tenderness of heart ; which ended, I desired him in further sign of repentance and true sorrow for his sins to say with me this little short act of contrition ‘ O my Lord God, with my whole heart and soul I detest all the sins of my life past, for the love of Thee, whom I love above

* Ellis's Original Letters, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 335.

all things ; and I firmly purpose by Thy Holy Grace never to offend Thee more : Amen, sweet Jesus, Amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my soul ; mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy.' This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice ; which done, and his sacramental penance admitted, I gave him absolution. After receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, he repeated the Act of Contrition, raising himself up, and saying ' let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my bed,' &c. and so he received his Viaticum with all the symptoms of devotion imaginable."*

So much for Burnet's first charge : but he goes on to say that " Ken was also censured for another piece of indecency : he presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this, some that were in the room cried out, the King was their common Father. And upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them." Again ; " the King recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to the Duke : he said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last ; and besought the Duke in as melting words as he could fetch out to be very kind to her and her son. He recommended his other children to him : and concluded ' let not poor Nelly starve,' that was Mrs. Gwyn. But he said nothing of the Queen, nor any

* " Brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy death of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second in regard to Religion ; faithfully related by his then assistant Jo. Huddleston." — 4to. 1685.

one word of his people, or of his servants." And in another part, speaking of the King's insensibility to "the weighty observations made to him by Archbishop Sancroft, and Ken," he says, "of this too visible an instance appeared, since Lady Portsmouth sat on the bed, taking care of him as a wife of a husband."

All the parts of this narrative, as far as they relate to the Queen, and Bishop Ken, and Lady Portsmouth, are the very reverse of the truth.

1st. Hawkins declares that "the Duchess of Portsmouth coming into the room, whilst the Bishop was suggesting pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion, *Ken prevailed with His Majesty to have her removed*, and took that occasion of representing the injury and injustice done to his Queen so effectually, that His Majesty was induced to send for the Queen, and asking pardon had the satisfaction of her forgiveness before he died."*

2nd. The Bishop of Ely's Chaplain says — "the first thing the King did, on coming out of his fit, was to ask for the Queen; she had been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave; but this at length threw her into fits, and she then being compelled to retire, when the King asked for her, she was obliged to "send a message to him to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon, if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied 'Alas! poor woman, she beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart.'"†

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 11.

† Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 337.

3rd. Barillon, the French Ambassador, who was also present, wrote a full account immediately to Louis XIV. He describes the Ducheſs of Portſmouth's anxiety to have a Catholic Prieſt ſent for, that Charles might be reconciled to the Roman Church. "Monſieur Ambaſſador, ſhe ſaid to him, I am going to tell you the greateſt ſecret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The king of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is ſurrounded with Proteſtant Biſhops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor ſpeaks to him of God. *I cannot with decency enter the room; beſides that the Queen is almoſt conſtantly there*: the Duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has too many of them to take the care he ought of the King's conſcience. Go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to ſave the King's ſoul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will: loſe no time, for if it is deferred ever ſo little, it will be too late."

4th. The Duke of York, in his notes of the King's death, ſays he ſpoke moſt tenderly of the Queen in his laſt moments. And the Earl of Ailſbury, another perſonal witneſs of the ſcene, writing to Mr. Leigh of Adleſtrop, indignantly denies the aſſertion of Burnet: he calls him "a notorious liar from beginning to end. My good King and maſter falling upon me in his fit, I ordered him to be blooded, and then went to fetch the Duke of York, and when we came to the bed-fide

* Dalrymple's Memoirs. Appendix to vol. i. p. 95.

*we found the Queen there, and the impostor says it was the Duchess of Portsmouth."**

As to Ken's presenting the Duke of Richmond to be blessed,—it would have been no great "indecentcy," as Burnet calls it, if he had asked the parental blessing on a son (then only thirteen years of age) whose unhappy birth was no fault or crime of his. But it was not the fact; there was no occasion for his doing so. Dr. Turner's Chaplain informs us that the King "recommended to the care of the Duke of York all his children by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard so much as to make mention of. He blessed all his children one by one, pulling them on the bed: and then the Bishops moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed, and the father of his country, to bless them also, and all that were there present, and in them the whole body of his subjects. Whereupon the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. This was so like a great good Prince, and the solemnity of it so very surprising, as was extremely moving, and caused a general lamentation throughout; and no one hears it without being much affected with it, being new and great."†

We cannot concur in this panegyric on Charles as "a great good Prince," any more than we admit the justice of Burnet's opprobrious comparison of him to the "monster Tiberius." It is certain his death occasioned a general sorrow: he was an indulgent father,

* *European Magazine*, vol. xxvii. p. 221.

† *Ellis's Original Letters*. Series I. vol. p. 338.

a kind master; his courteous and easy manners endeared him to the people, who are not usually the most accurate observers of character. In the many vicissitudes of his fortune he lost the opportunities of showing himself a great man; his vices prevailed to render him an inglorious King.



CHAPTER XII.

Accession of James II. — Early Measures of the King for the establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion — Ken's first visit to Wells — The Palace at Wells — His Sermon at Whitehall on the character of Daniel — Coronation of James.



ISHOP KEN'S close attendance at the death-bed of Charles, so immediately after his consecration, prevented any thought of the usual forms for his admission to the temporalities of the See, which required the King's sign manual. But as soon as James came to the throne "new instruments were prepared for that purpose, and he was accordingly in full possession of his revenues."*

It was a time of difficulty and danger to the Church. Much laxity and indifference prevailed; many of the Clergy were non-resident, ecclesiastical discipline was remiss, and schism abounded. Ken's firmness and circumspection, his courage and meekness were all tasked to harmonize men's minds, and keep them steadfast to the truth, when it seemed to be endangered by the King's undisguised endeavour to establish Popery. He had long since abjured the Church of England. There can be no doubt this was previous to the death† of his first wife, Anne Hyde, who had also embraced the

* Hawkins' Life of Ken, p. 12.

† In 1671.

Romish Faith, probably through his influence. So early as the 30th of March 1673, "at the Sermon coram rege, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, to a most crouded auditorie, I staid" (says Evelyn) "to see whether, according to custom, the Duke of York received the Communion with the King; but he did not, to the amazement of everybody. This being the second year he had forbore and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an act against the encrease of Popery, gave exceeding grieve and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be God only knows, and wise men dread."*

In 1678 Archbishop Sancroft, assisted by Bishop Morley, had an interview with him in his closet, to represent the danger of his secession, and to urge his return. After eulogizing the Anglican Church, and reminding him that he "had been born within her happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy Faith," the Archbishop proceeded; "your Royal father, that blessed Martyr of ever glorious memory, who loved her, and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back on an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion (which he thought not only worth three kingdoms, but ten thousand worlds) he gave that Queen

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 461.

(the Church) in legacy amongst you. For thus he bespoke the king your brother, and in him all that were his, words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble. ‘If you never see my face again, I require and entreat you, as your father, and as your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or dissatisfaction from the true religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world.’”* But it was all in vain: James replied to the Bishops that he also had taken all the pains he could to examine the grounds of his religious faith, that he had not made the change hastily, or without foresight of the inconveniences that must ensue to him from it; and requested that he might not be further urged by any discussions.

His accession had been greeted with the acclamations of the people, who vainly trusted to his promises of tenderness for the Church of England; but it was not long e’er these hopes were disappointed. Suspicion soon began to obscure the sunshine of popularity, which generally beams on a new reign. His open celebration of the mass, his encouragement of Roman Priests and Jesuits, and the immediate choice of Papists to offices of trust in Ireland, betrayed his design to overthrow the Anglican faith. Religion thus became an encreasing source of violent controversy and faction. Instead of endeavouring to cement the affections of his subjects through a common ritual, he

* D’Oyly’s *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 167.

had resolved to substitute his own will for the constituted laws, and to reduce the spiritual interests of the kingdom to a foreign rule. He could not estimate the unchangeable purpose of the whole nation to maintain the reformed religion. In this unequal contest he was prepared to risk his throne, placing his whole reliance on the questionable fidelity of his army, commanded by Roman Catholic officers; his only other support being a few catholic noblemen, and a band of emissaries from the papal court.

But we must follow Bishop Ken to Wells, that we may witness his introduction to the Diocese. The first dedication of himself in the cathedral was an event of deep interest to all. It must have been a solemn and impressive scene, when, preceded by his Clergy, he entered the western doors amidst the crowds of people, anxious to catch a glimpse of their future Bishop. We may well imagine his feelings of awe and reverence, of gratitude and humiliation, as he raised his eyes to the vaulted roof of that beautiful temple, henceforward to be the centre of his pastoral duties; and still more when he was conducted to the episcopal throne. In dedicating his Hymnarium to Dr. Hooper, afterwards his successor in the See, he thus expresses the feelings of that moment:

Among the Herdmen, I a common swain,
Liv'd pleas'd with my low cottage on the plain;
Till up, like Amos, on a sudden caught,
I to the Past'ral Chair was trembling brought.

The Palace at Wells, even to this day, retains much of its former character. It stands in the midst of a garden, surrounded by a once fortified wall, at the foot

of which is a fountain of the purest water, that bursts from St. Andrew's well, and passing round the palace flows through the town. A high terraced walk, within ramparts, overlooks the garden and palace: without are meadows extending to the foot of the Mendip hills. The noble cathedral, close at hand, glowing in all the varied richness of Christian art, is seen through the mullioned windows of the banqueting hall, now in ruins and overgrown with ivy. This hall had witnessed the trial and condemnation of Whiting, the courageous Abbot of Glastonbury, who suffered martyrdom rather than betray the trusts of his Abbey,—that ancient and once splendid monument of the wealth and devotion of the Church. At each end of the terrace walk is a stone grotto, formed in the angles of the rampart, and covered with ivy. Over the entrance of one of these is an inscription from Horace, cut into a stone tablet.

"ILLE TERRARUM MIHI PRÆTER OMNES
ANGULUS RIDET," &c. &c.—Lib. ii. Od. 6.

The placidness of the scene, these well known lines, and the similarity of character between two holy men, who amid the deeper thoughts of their learning and piety did not refuse to delight themselves in the works of the Roman Lyrist, recall to mind a passage in the life of Hooker. "His former pupils, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer, took a journey to Draiton Beauchamp to see their tutor, and found him with a book in his hand (it was the odes of Horace) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field."* No less

* Walton's Life of Richard Hooker.

humble and innocent was Bishop Ken, though living in a palace. Both are bright ornaments of the English Church, hallowed to our remembrance by the purity of their lives, and the undying worth of the writings they have bequeathed to us.

There Ken might walk, and read, and meditate, and mature his plans for the welfare of his people. There too, not long after, he decided on the courageous stand to be made, first against a Roman Catholic, and then against a Protestant King, when they successively invaded the rights of the Church. Under both trials he was ready to sacrifice, and at length did yield up, not this garden of pleasures only, but all he had or hoped for on earth, rather than betray the trust committed to him. This grotto, we may be sure, was the silent witness of his frequent and fervent aspirations to the heavenly throne. If those yews, and ivy-grown walls, could give utterance, what holy thoughts, and prayers, and hymns sung to his lute, would they record.

These were the tranquil scenes of his literary labours, which at once began to employ his pen in the service of the Church. The press already teemed with controversy between the communions of England and Rome. We may derive some notion of the height this had reached from the mere titles of discourses, to be found in any of the numerous collections of tracts of that time, which are still extant. We may take as a specimen the contents of one out of 19 quarto volumes in a private collection.

“A Papist Mis-Represented and Represented, or a twofold Character of Popery, &c. 1686. The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly Re-

presented: in Answer to a Papist Mis-Represented, &c. 1686. Reflexions upon the Answer to the Papist, directed to the Answerer. 1686. A Papist Not Mis-Represented by Protestants, being a Reply to the Reflexions, &c. 1686. Papists Protesting against Protestant Popery, in Answer, &c., being a Vindication of the Papists Mis-Represented. 1686. An Answer to a Discourse entitled Papists Protesting, &c. containing an Examination of the Exposition of the Invocation of Saints and Worship of Images. 1686. An Amicable Accomodation of the Difference between the Representer and the Answerer, &c. 1686. An Answer to the Amicable Accomodation, &c. 1686. A Reply to the Answer, &c. &c. 1686. A View of the whole Controversy between the Representer and the Answerer, in which are laid open some of the Methods by which Protestants are Mis-Represented. 1687. The Papists Mis-Represented and Represented. 3rd part. 1687. An Answer to the Representer's Reflexions upon the State and View of the Controversy, showing the Vindication has utterly ruined the New design of expounding Popery. 1687.*

But there is no where to be found any one controversial tract by Bishop Ken: disputation was not his element. In the pulpit he did not shrink from faithfully explaining and enforcing the doctrines of the English Church, as distinguished from the errors of

* See also "The Catalogue of all the Discourses published against Popery during the Reign of James II." 1689. 4to. It contains nearly two hundred.

Rome, especially when the King's design became more apparent. In this sphere he discoursed most eloquently ; but he never stepped beyond it. He was remarkable rather for a life of practical holiness, and of love and zeal in all the branches of his office, than for any forwardness in disputing the popular subjects of the day. Controversy, he knew, had ever been found to exasperate, rather than allay religious differences, to harden men into aversion and mutual reproach, rather than bring them to peace and unity. Whilst others were engaged "in Pleas, and Answers, and Reflections on Answers, Differences of Cases, Remonstrances and Vindications," he set himself in the first year of his Episcopate to prepare the work which exalts his name in the rank of English Divines : "AN EXPOSITION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM, or the *Practice of Divine Love*." In this he seems to expatiate in unbounded love to God and man. Let the Christian reader, in his retirement, open it at any page ; he will see a devout soul kneeling at the feet of Jesus, as if in the enjoyment of a glimpse of Heaven, and yearning after celestial light, and love, and glory. He will hardly refrain from kneeling by his side, to breathe with him the spirit of his prayers.

But before the work could be committed to the press he was summoned to preach his Lent sermon before the Court at Whitehall. According to the London Gazette it was on Sunday, the 8th of March 1685. A few days prior to this, Evelyn, "to his grief, saw the new pulpit set up in the Oratorie (the King's private Chapel) where Mass was now publicly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence

than had ever been, since the Reformation ; so as every body grew jealous to what this would tend.”* The King therefore was not present to hear the sermon : but his daughter, the Princess of Denmark (afterwards Queen Ann) attended with many of the nobility. “She sat on the left hand of the King’s chair in the gallery, the Clerk of the Closet standing on the other side, as if his Majesty had been there : a special order had been given that the preacher should make “three congées, instead of one only,”† as they had been used to do.

The Bishop chose for his subject the character of Daniel, ‡ on which he enlarged with glowing eloquence. He presents him as an example for the imitation of the assembled courtiers ; as one who, in the midst of an unbelieving, luxurious, and corrupt court, maintained the worship of the true God, a holy self-denial, and an immoveable integrity.

“Daniel,” he says, “was not of the sacerdotal, but regal line : he was a Courtier, and not only a Courtier, but a Favourite, and not only a Favourite, but a Minister too ; such a Courtier, and Favourite, and Minister as no age can parallel. And to the Courtier, Favourite and Minister he added the ascetic, and the saint. In all these respects he was, as the margin literally renders it, ‘a man of desires,’ or according to the Hebrew idiom, ‘a man greatly beloved.’ From all these materials every of you may skill the art to become greatly beloved like him.”

After describing Daniel’s extraordinary endowments,

* Diary, Vol. i. p. 588.

† Ibid. Vol. i. p. 594.

‡ “O Daniel, a man greatly beloved.”—Dan. x. 11.

and the manner in which he devoted them to the service of God under five successive monarchs, he continues. "All which made him *greatly belov'd*, greatly belov'd by God, at whose glory he ever aim'd; greatly belov'd by all those Kings whom he faithfully serv'd; greatly belov'd by the people whose good he studied. You have seen how love was reciprocal, how Daniel greatly lov'd God, the King, and the People: and this was the secret he had, which naturally attracted so universal a love: a secret which is neither too mysterious for your comprehension, nor too heroic for your imitation: a secret of a certain and approv'd virtue. For goodness is awful and amiable to all mankind, and has charms that are irresistible. There is a powerful sweetness, a propitious obligingness, and such effusions and radiations of divinity in it, as commands our affections, and are able to overcome all our aversions; and I am confident that there is no one here but, if he would make the experiment, would find a proportionable success."

"Let me then exhort you, let me beseech you to consider all the attractions of Divine love, till God's sovereign love inflame you, and you habitually breathe His praises. Learn like Daniel, humility by affliction, purity by temperance; to keep your graces alive by prayer, and by frequenting your Oratory; to subdue rebellious nature by fasting and mortifications. Learn from Daniel a universal obligingness and benignity, an awful love to your Prince, a constant fidelity, an unbounded courage, an unwearied zeal in serving him. Learn from Daniel an equal mixture of the wisdom of the serpent, and of the innocence of the dove, an inof-

fenfive converfation, a clear integrity, and an impartial juftice to all within your fphere. Learn from the man greatly beloved to reconcile policy and religion, bufinefs and devotion, abftinence and abundance, greatnefs and goodnefs, magnanimity and humility, power and fubjection, authority and affability, converfation and retirement, intereft and integrity, Heaven and the Court, the favour of God and the favour of the King ; —and then you are mafters of Daniel’s fecret ; you will fecure yourfelves an univerfal and lafting intereft ; you will like him be greatly beloved both by God and man.”

The fermon being fpecially appointed for the feafon of Lent, he did not neglect the occafion to urge on his hearers the duty of obferving the rule of the Church in abftaining from their felf-indulgence, at leaft on the appointed days, and efpecially in Lent.

“ I mention,” he fays, “ this example of Daniel, to fhew what the ancients thought of Fafting, and how they kept Lent. I do not exhort you to follow them any further than either our climate or our conftitutions will bear ; but we may eafily follow Daniel in abftaining from wine, and from the more pleafurable meats ; and fuch an abftinence as this, with fuch a mourning for our fins, and the fins of others, is the proper exercife of a primitive fpirit during all the weeks of Lent. For what is Lent, in its original inftitution, but a fpiritual conflict to fubdue the flefh to the fpirit, to beat down our bodies, and to bring them into fubjection ? What is it but a penitential martyrdom for fo many weeks together, which we fuffer for our own and others’ fins ? A devout foul that is able to obferve it faftens himfelf to the Crofs on

As Wednesday, and hangs crucify'd by contrition all the Lent long ; that having felt in his closet the burthen and the anguish, the nails and the thorns, and tasted the gall of his own sins, he may by his own crucifixion be better disposed to be crucify'd with Christ on Good Friday, and most tenderly to sympathize with all the dolours, and pressures, and anguish, and torments, and desertion, infinite, unknown, and unspeakable, which God Incarnate endured, when He bled upon the Cross for the sins of the world ; that being purified by repentance, and made conformable to Christ crucify'd, he may offer up a pure oblation at Easter, and feel the power, and the joys, and the triumph of the Saviour's Resurrection."

Not long after this he was again summoned from Wells to assist at the Coronation of James, which took place on the 23rd of April, being St. George's day. The King had selected him, although the junior Bishop, to walk by his side, under the canopy of state, in the procession from Westminster Hall, and to be his supporter on the steps of the throne during the ceremonies in the Abbey. His friend, Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, was appointed to preach the coronation sermon. Thus we see the two poor Winchester scholars brought to great eminence, men of serious lives, who esteemed a holy retirement above all the parade of courts, yet sought out by the King, as worthy of the highest marks of favour he could bestow.

The Holy Communion had always formed part of the coronation service. But James could not receive it, as administered in the Anglican Church. Notwithstanding this, he opened Parliament with a speech, in

which he promised to support and defend the Church of England, and the people seemed disposed to rely on his pledges. The Commons by an unanimous vote settled upon him during life the revenues enjoyed by the late king. The speaker, in presenting the Bill for the Royal assent, expressed the satisfaction of the House in his "Majesty's gracious and sacred word, repeated declarations, and assurance to support and defend the Religion of the Church of England, as is now by law established: and we humbly beseech your majesty to accept this revenue, and along with it our hearty prayers, that God Almighty would bless you with a long life and happy reign to enjoy it." The King thanked them very heartily for the Bill, declaring that their readiness and cheerfulness in the dispatch of it was as acceptable to him as the Bill itself: and that he could not express his thoughts more suitably than by assuring them he had "a true English heart, as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be; and I please myself with the hopes that, by God's blessing, and your assistance, I may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my ancestors."

CHAPTER XIII.

*The Duke of Monmouth : his life and character—invasades
England.*



IN the midst of this interchange of civilities between the King and Parliament intelligence arrived that the Duke of Monmouth, one of the natural sons of the late King, had landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and set up the standard of rebellion in the western counties. The Parliament immediately passed a Bill of attainder against him, offered a reward of 5,000*l.* to any who should bring him in, and having voted 400,000*l.* to the king for the present emergency, both Houses adjourned on the 2nd of July, the members being dismissed to their several counties, where their presence was required to encourage the loyal, and control the disaffected. It appears by the journals of the House of Lords that Ken was present in Parliament on this occasion : but within a few days after we find him in his Diocese, a messenger of charity amidst the din of war, raised by the invasion.

This period of Monmouth's history forcibly illustrates the Bishop's character in two particulars, — his compassion for sufferers, and his steadfastness in carrying out the injunctions of the Church, even when his benevolent feelings would have prompted him to relax the strictness of her rule. It is, therefore, necessary

to enter into some brief review of Monmouth's eventful life. He was the eldest of Charles II.'s natural children, born at Rotterdam during the King's exile. He first went by the name of James Crofts, received his education at Paris under the care of Henrietta Maria, and was brought up a Roman Catholic. At the age of fourteen, soon after the Restoration, the King sent for him to Court, provided him a stately equipage, appointed for his use apartments in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, and by warrant authorized him to bear the royal arms of England and France. He caused him also to be reconciled to the English Church.

He was a youth of lovely form and countenance, perfected in all the graces and accomplishments of the Court, and such a favourite with the King, that for many years he lavished upon him every honour and endearment that an over-indulgent parent could bestow. At the age of eighteen, having already created him a Peer of Parliament, and a Knight of the Garter, he secured for him in marriage the richest heiress of the kingdom, the beautiful Countess of Buccleuch, then only sixteen years of age. The mere list of his titles and offices would suffice to show the entire devotion of the king's heart to this Absalom of his house.*

* Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, Earl of Doncaster, and Dalkeith, Lord Scott of Tindale, Whitechester, and Ashdale. Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, Governor of Kingston upon Hull, Chief Justice in Eyre of all the Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens south of the River Trent, Lord General of all the King's Land Forces, Captain of the Life Guards of Horse, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of the Horse, and Lord of the Privy Council, &c.

Charles seemed to joy in his society :—wherever he went Monmouth was his chosen companion, or if he sent him occasionally to serve in the French army, he was everywhere received with the honours due to royalty. The Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys abound with notices of the over-weening attachment of his father, who seemed to love him for his very faults. These were indeed too nearly akin to his own ; for he was a profligate youth, owning no law but his own will. Pepys says, “ the little Duke of Monmouth is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and so follow Prince Rupert, before the Duke of Buckingham or any else : ” — “ The King so fond of the Duke of M. that everybody admires it : and the Duke says he would be the death of any man, who says the King was not married to his mother.” “ The Duke of Monmouth spends his time most viciously and idly of any man, nor will be fit for any thing : yet speaks confidently of his mother having been married to the King : ” “ talk of the D. of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales not true : ” &c. &c.

We cannot wonder that the King's brother should be alarmed at such indications of an ill-regulated and doting partiality ; and the rather because Monmouth, grown bold by indulgence, began openly to aspire to the succession, aiming at popularity as “ the Protestant Duke,” and lending himself to the Whig party, whose aim was to exclude James from the throne as a “ Popish Recusant.” We may pass over the details of these feuds, which have afforded to political writers so fertile a theme of mutual recrimination. One thing is certain, that Monmouth's sagacity and pre-

fence of mind were unequal to his ambition: his folly was exceeded only by his moral cowardice and ingratitude: he became a tool in the hands of Shaftsbury,* and others who were engaged in designs against his father's Government.

The King, being now made sensible of his dangerous views, and to prevent any future dispute concerning the succession, entered with his own hand in the Council book a declaration, "as in the presence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made, any contract of marriage whatsoever, but to her present Majesty Queen Catherine, now living." This was attested by sixteen Privy Counsellors. He afterwards caused a like declaration to be enrolled in Chancery, especially disclaiming, "on the word of a king, and the faith of a Christian, that he was ever married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother."†

As a further satisfaction to James, Monmouth was banished for a while to Holland: but returning shortly after without leave, he made a public progress through the west of England, every where exciting the people against his uncle. One of his panegyricists describes that in his march through Somersetshire "he was caressed with the joyful acclamations of the country people, who came from all parts twenty miles about, the lanes and hedges being every where lined with men, women, and children, who with incessant shouts

* Reresby's Memoirs, p. 95.

† A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the King's disavowing, &c. Somers's Tracts, vol. i. p. 82.

cried ‘ God bleſs King Charles, and the Proteſtant Duke.’” In many towns and pariſhes “ they ſtrewed the ſtreets and highways, where he was to paſs, with herbs and flowers.”* He was ſometimes attended by a concourſe of 2,000 perſons on horſeback, and at other times, as on his approach to Exeter, he was met by the citizens and the people of all the adjacent parts to the number of 20,000. On another occaſion, “ as he entered Cheſter with his whole train, the flaming piles wherewith the ſtreets were enlightened, and the harmonious noiſe from the ſeveral ſteeples, loudly proclaimed his welcome, and the extraordinary joy the people conceived for his Grace’s preſence among them.”†

In this manner for three years he continued to be the rallying point of all the diſaffected, endeavouring to render the King’s government odious, and forgetful of every tie that ſhould bind a ſon to the fondeſt of fathers. The King long forbore any proceedings againſt him : but in June 1683 he was arreſted at Stafford by a Serjeant at Arms, under a warrant from the King, declaring that “ James Duke of Monmouth hath lately appeared in ſeveral parts of this kingdom with great numbers of people in a riotous and unlawful manner, to the diſturbance of the public peace, and the terrour of His Maſteſty’s good ſubjects : theſe are, therefore to command you forthwith to apprehend the ſaid Duke of Monmouth,” &c.

* Heroick Life, and magnanimous actions of the moſt illuſtrious Prince, James Duke of Monmouth. London, 12mo. 1683, p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 127.

At length the Whig faction, being disappointed in all their endeavours to undermine the Government, entered into a rash conspiracy, known as the Rye House Plot, for which Lord William Russel suffered death. The merits of that high spirited nobleman, the truth or falsehood of the treasonable part of the charge against him and his associates, have been often and variously discussed. If we cannot concur in Mr. Fox's judgment, that "their attempt to deliver their country from the dreadful servitude into which it had fallen was clearly laudable," we assent to his opinion, that the condemnation, (in the manner of it) and therefore the execution of Russel, "was a violation of law and justice." There was something so truly English and generous in his nature, and his death was so Christian and brave, that few characters in the range of our history have met with more honour. It was, no doubt, an ardent love of liberty which prompted him to embark in this futile conspiracy against a government, so firmly established that any momentary success must have ended in wide spread suffering, and severe retribution. He committed himself to associates of whom few had any of his virtues, and therefore few deserved his confidence: most of them proved to be mean, unprincipled cowards, and either fled, or gave evidence against him. The impulses of passion over-mastered his forethought and circumspection, so indispensable in all difficult enterprises. The resources at his command were altogether unequal to the end proposed. We may therefore believe that he had no genius to realize the aspirations of a fervid mind. The only evidence we have of real greatness of character is the

heroic calmness of his death, which was worthy of all praise.

But for the conduct of Monmouth, in this plot against his father, not a word of extenuation can be offered: it bears the deep dye of ingratitude. The king entirely believed that he had entertained the design of his assassination; for he proclaimed him a traitor, offered 500*l.* reward for his seizure, and in a declaration, which was read in every Church throughout the land, he deliberately charged this son of his affection with having joined in a "treasonable conspiracy against his sacred person and government." And now by his treacherous and craven conduct he showed how unworthy he was of the friendship of such men as Russell, and Sidney, who had embarked with him in his enterprise.

Though it is impossible to justify their acts, we may believe that a deep sense of the dangers which threatened the Protestant religion, and the liberties of England, impelled them to join in the conspiracy. But his own selfish projects were the only impulse of Monmouth's mind. No sooner did he see them frustrated than he hastened to secure his own safety by unmanly disclosures against his friends. He wrote a submissive letter to the King, confessing his guilt, and declaring "if ever again he did any thing against the Duke of York, he would never ask to see the King's face again, which was the greatest curse he could lay on himself." He was admitted to an audience, fell on his knees before the King and the Duke, and implored their pardon: he even demeaned himself to write, at their dictation, the letter which

proves him to have been a rebel against his father, and has for ever stamped him a traitor to his own associates.

“ I have heard ” (thus he writes to the King) “ some reports of me, as if I should have lessened the late Plot, and gone about to discredit the evidence given against those who have died by justice. Your Majesty and the Duke know how ingenuously I have owned the late conspiracy ; and though I am not conscious of any design against your Majesty’s life, yet I lament the having had so great a share in the other part of the said conspiracy. Sir, I have taken the liberty to put this in writing for my own vindication ; and I beseech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the faults you have forgiven me. I will take care never to commit any more against you, or come within the danger of being again misled from my duty ; but make it the business of my life to deserve the pardon your Majesty hath granted to

“ Your dutiful

“ MONMOUTH.”

He was quickly made sensible of the disgrace into which he was plunged by this betrayal of his accomplices. Repenting this poor act of repentance, he went to the King, and earnestly implored him to return the paper, which “ he thought was a diminution of his honor.” His father answered that he would not keep it against his will ; but warned him not to recall what alone could testify the sincerity of his sorrow. He persisted in his request ; and Charles gave him back his letter. But no sooner had Monmouth got possession of the paper,

than *he denied having ever made any acknowledgment of guilt*, thus presenting himself to friends and foes a strange spectacle of alternate rebellion, abjectness, and falsehood. The King for ever banished him from his presence: so he incurred the penalty which he had declared would be "the greatest curse he could lay upon himself," for he retired again to Holland, and saw his father's face no more.

It has been asserted that Charles so far relented as to supply him with money, and to correspond with him; and that, just before his own fatal illness, being unable to endure Monmouth's absence, he meditated his recall. If this were so, it would only mark more emphatically the ingratitude of the son, who could plot against so affectionate a father. The fact receives some confirmation from the flattering attentions paid to him by the Prince and Princess of Orange at the Hague, during the life of the King, who would be gratified by this indulgence. The active part Monmouth had taken against the Catholic Duke might enhance his claim to the favour of the Protestant Stadtholder. But no sooner did the news of Charles's death reach Holland, than all things wore another aspect at the Dutch Court. The Prince found it more to his own interests to treat this avowed enemy of the new King with a prudent reserve.

James II. in his Memoirs would have it believed that the Prince was willing to foment the quarrel between him and Monmouth, "one a Pretender to the throne, the other in possession, and whichever got the better would equally advantage his pretensions. If the Duke of Monmouth (who was illegitimate) succeeded,

it would be easy for William, that was a Protestant as well as he, and in right of his wife the next heir, to shove him off the saddle. If on the contrary the Duke of Monmouth was worsted, he got rid of a dangerous rival ; and was sure all his party would have recourse to him. This made him, underhand, do all he could to inflame the young man's fury and ambition ; and send him out like a victim to the slaughter, playing a sure game himself, to whomsoever fortune should give the advantage."* There appears no ground whatever for this grave accusation.

As soon as James came to the throne he made application to the Prince of Orange, through his envoy at the Hague, to have Monmouth secured and sent to England, before he could form any dangerous designs. William was incapable of such an act of treachery, even had it suited his plans. He recommended Monmouth to leave Holland, where he could no longer protect him, and gave him money to carry him to Brussels. Here, however, he was still pursued by the King's watchful jealousy : the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands ordered him to leave. He could not take refuge in France ; for James was already the pensioner, and close ally of Louis. Thus in fear of arrest whichever way he turned, urged by Argyle, Lord Grey, and other refugees and malcontents, Monmouth was impelled, against his own judgment, to precipitate his plans, and make a descent on England, before (as was thought) the new King could mature his power. He

* Macpherson's papers, Vol. i. p. 143.

had, however, no chance of success in the present good understanding between the King and his parliament: he ran upon certain destruction. Even the Prince of Orange, who had no sympathy with James, and had professed great friendship for Monmouth, when he saw the temper of Parliament to put down the rebellion, offered to come over to England, and in person head the troops against him.



CHAPTER XIV.

The Duke of Monmouth lands in the West of England—Defeated in the battle of Sedgemoor—Cruelties of Lord Feversham, and Colonel Kirke—Ken's appeal to the King on behalf of the prisoners—Monmouth condemned to death—Ken attends him on the scaffold.

EXCEPT in personal bravery, the common attribute of soldiers, Monmouth was wanting in all the qualities required for such an enterprize as the invasion of England with a handful of men. His father's indulgence, and the flattery of a court, had inspired him with ambitious hopes; the breath of popular applause had inflated him to a high presumption: but he had neither deliberative wisdom to form great plans, judgment to direct, nor moral firmness to sustain them; no genius or decision to command success.

As the appointed day for his embarking from the Texel drew near he began to waver; the difficulties that beset his path appeared in their true proportions. But this conviction came too late; he was pledged to Argyle, who had already failed for Scotland on the faith of his co-operating in England. "I have received both your's this morning" (he writes to one of his adherents) "and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I fear it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and

every thing that you and my other friends have writ to me on the subject ; and have done it with the greatest inclination to follow your advice without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you that in these three weeks' retirement in this place, I have not only looked back, but forward ; and the more I consider our present circumstances, I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for." He then adduces some excellent reasons against the enterprise,—any one of which should have deterred him from engaging in it. To provide against difficulties, or resolve not to encounter them, is the part of wisdom—to falter in the moment of action is weakness, and the certain prelude to discomfiture.

"And" (he proceeds) "to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life, that I am never like to be fond of making a bustle in the world again." He sighed after the ease of retirement, when he should have bravely buckled on his sword : whilst he grasped at a disputed crown, he would fain solace himself in the repose of an unambitious life ! The real secret of his inconsistency was the thralldom of an unhallowed passion for Lady Henrietta Wentworth, for whom he had forsaken his amiable and lovely wife, and their children, attempting even to justify his desertion of her on the unmanly plea of their youthful attachment and marriage, which to a generous heart

would endear, if not sanctify, the union. "Lady Wentworth had followed him to Brussels, desperately in love with him; and both he and she came to fancy that, he being married to his Duchefs, while he was indeed of the age of consent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: so they lived together; and she had heated both herself and him with such enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God!"*

"It was," says Fox, "with great reluctance that he tore himself from the arms of Lady Wentworth, with whom he had so firmly persuaded himself that he could be happy in the most obscure retirement, that he believed himself weaned from ambition, which had hitherto been the only passion of his mind."† Unprepared and irresolute, fearing to go on, ashamed to recede, barely escaping the vigilance of James's agents, he set sail on the 24th of May, with three ships and 150 followers. After a tedious passage he landed at Lyme on the 11th of June. There drawing his sword, he knelt down, and uttered a prayer to the God of Truth, Who in every part of His divine word commands obedience to rulers, and honour to kings, beseeching Him to bless the cause of rebellion, founded on pretensions which he himself knew to be false.

He published a long inflated proclamation, full of absurd reproaches against "James Duke of York." He charges him with the burning of London — with being accessory to the death of Sir Edmundbury God-

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

† Hist. of the Reign of James II. p. 257.

frey — with hiring execrable villains to assassinate the late Earl of Essex — with cruelty and ingratitude in the murder of the late King, “for which villanous and unnatural crime, that barbarous and horrid parricide, executed upon our father, we will prosecute him to death as a mortal and bloody enemy.” He asserts his own legitimate right to the crowns of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, “notwithstanding the means used by the late king, his father, upon Popish motives, and at the instigation of the Duke, to weaken and obscure it.” He denounces all who shall aid the said Duke of York as enemies of God, mankind, and their country. He “calls heaven and earth to witness to the necessity of their betaking themselves to arms as men and Christians;” appeals to God for the justice of his cause, doubts not the assistance of all Protestant kings, princes, and commonwealths, “who do either regard the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or their own interests.” “Above all,” (he adds) “our dependence and trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we go forth, and to whom we commit our cause, and refer the decision betwixt us and our enemies in the day of battle. Now let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto Him.”*

The answers he received to this mixture of folly, impiety, and falsehood, were the Act of Parliament for his attainder, and the proclamation promising “a reward of 5,000*l.* to any one who shall bring in the person of James Duke of Monmouth, alive or dead.”

* Echard, vol. iii. p. 758. Kennett, p. 428.

Great numbers of the common people, however, flocked to his standard : he advanced to Axminster, Taunton, Bridgewater, Bristol, and Bath amid the shouts of admiring crowds, gathering an undisciplined force of about 5,000 men, without military resources, arms, or money. No doubt many of the gentry secretly wished him well, hoping that by any means the country might be secured from the Roman ascendancy : but the Parliament having declared against him, few would hazard the danger of joining an insurrection that offered so little hope of a prosperous issue.

Monmouth was deceived into a vain confidence by processions of young maidens, scattering flowers in his path, and the cries of welcome from a fond populace, admiring his personal beauty, and captivated by his gracious manners. These demonstrations of attachment, and the urgency of injudicious friends, prompted him to put forth another address, proclaiming himself King : he set a price on James's head, declared the Parliament a factious assembly,* wrote a letter to the Duke of Albemarle (who commanded the militia against him) *signed as King*, ordering him to lay down his arms on pain of suffering as a traitor. He even went so far as to exercise the ancient prerogative to "*touch for the evil*."

This assumption of royalty completed his ruin. It was contrary to his solemn engagement with Argyle and his associates,† gave offence to the most zealous of his friends, to the old Republicans, and to the

* Kennet, p. 431.

† Sir Patrick Hume's Narration, p. 15.

frey — with hiring execrable villains to assassinate the late Earl of Essex — with cruelty and ingratitude in the murder of the late King, “for which villanous and unnatural crime, that barbarous and horrid parricide, executed upon our father, we will prosecute him to death as a mortal and bloody enemy.” He asserts his own legitimate right to the crowns of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, “notwithstanding the means used by the late king, his father, upon Popish motives, and at the instigation of the Duke, to weaken and obscure it.” He denounces all who shall aid the said Duke of York as enemies of God, mankind, and their country. He “calls heaven and earth to witness to the necessity of their betaking themselves to arms as men and Christians;” appeals to God for the justice of his cause, doubts not the assistance of all Protestant kings, princes, and commonwealths, “who do either regard the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or their own interests.” “Above all,” (he adds) “our dependence and trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we go forth, and to whom we commit our cause, and refer the decision betwixt us and our enemies in the day of battle. Now let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto Him.”*

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* Echard, vol. iii. p. 758. Kennett, p. 428.

afterwards pleaded, and with too much truth, in extenuation of their barbarities.

We have at Sedgemoor the unwonted spectacle of a prelate of the Church personally engaged in the thickest of the fight. The warlike Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester, had fought in the army of Charles I. in 1642, and afterwards in Scotland for his son Charles II. He had also served under the Duke of York in Flanders, and now, laying aside his lawn, he once more took arms for his royal master in the battle of Sedgemoor, where "he was active in the soldiery way."* Seeing that the guns were all levelled in the same direction, and that their force might be eluded by an opening of the opposite ranks, he employed his coach-horses in drawing them to another spot, and "planted them to fire saltire-wise, that their shot might reach from front to flank." The King presented him with a rich medal in acknowledgment of his service.† After the battle this courageous prelate showed the true spirit of a Christian soldier in compassion for those whom he had helped to defeat. The Earl of Feversham was marching off the prisoners tied together like slaves, and making a halt at the first great sign post that stood across the road, he commanded four or five of them to be hanged upon it, and would have gone on in that arbitrary way, if the Bishop had not come up, and expostulated with him, calling out, "My Lord, this is murder in law. These poor wretches, now the

* Salmon's *Lives of the English Bishops*, p. 249.

† Fox's *History of the Reign of James II.*, p. 264. Burnet's *History of his Own Times*.

battle is over, must be tried before they are put to death."*

With no less compassion Bishop Ken pleaded their cause with the King. He had hastened to his diocese as soon as the Parliament broke up: his tender nature sympathized with these unhappy victims, now subjected to the unrelenting vengeance of Feversham, and the ferocious Kirke,—that ruthless tyrant, whom he had reproved at Tangier for his licentiousness. Everywhere revolting spectacles of slaughter presented themselves: the mangled bodies of the prisoners were exposed by the way side, and the roads were hardly passable. He did not stop to consider if the King would resent his interference; but fearless in his mission of mercy he wrote to remonstrate against the cruelty of his officers.† Not content with this, he engaged with all his wonted zeal in alleviating the misery of the survivors. Some hundreds of the rebels being imprisoned in Wells, he daily relieved them in prison, and prayed with them. ‡

* Sir James Mackintosh ascribes this humane interference to Bishop Ken: Mr. Macaulay doubts if the story can be applicable to him: Mr. Markland, in his excellent *Life of Ken*, agrees with Sir James, and forcibly vindicates his opinion. Who can decide between such high authorities? I humbly think it was Mews, whom Kennett erroneously calls the Bishop of Bath, though he had been lately translated to Winchester. See Kennett's *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 432.

† "Besides those that were killed in the field there were about seven hundred sentenced to death, and executed, inasmuch that all the high ways of that country were no longer to be travelled, whilst the horror of so many quarters of men, and the offensive stench of them lasted, of which Dr. Ken, the Bishop of that Diocese, writ a most pathetic letter to his Majesty." Lord Londale's *Memoirs*, p. 12.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 16.

Historians are divided in opinion as to Monmouth's behaviour in the action. Mr. Fox says "he fled while his troops were still fighting, and therefore too soon for his glory."* After wandering up and down for two days, driven to the greatest straits even for food, he was discovered lying in a ditch, in the disguise of a shepherd, covered with ferns and brakes. On being searched his George was found upon him, which with the welcome news was conveyed by an express to the King. Out of his pocket were taken books in his own hand writing, containing charms, and spells, and conjurations to open the doors of a prison, and to prevent the danger of being wounded in battle, together with songs and prayers.†

We might expect that one who had aspired to a crown would show himself worthy of the blood of the Stuarts; that having staked his life on a cast, he would bravely "stand the hazard of the die." But no sooner was he in the power of his enemy than he betrayed a weak spirit: he burst into unmanly tears. To the King, whom he had before branded as a cruel usurper, murderer, and fratricide, he wrote a letter even more abject than he had penned to his father on his former rebellion. He expresses no remorse for the slaughter of his admiring adherents, whom he had reduced from

* Fox's History of the Reign of James II. p. 264.

"Herein the Duke of Monmouth lost much of his reputation for courage, for instead of dying in the field as was expected, he left his men fighting, and endeavoured to escape in company with my Lord Gray." Lord Londdale's Memoirs, p. 11.

† An Account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth," &c. 1685.

their allegiance,—he makes no appeal on behalf of the unhappy prisoners,—no cry for the royal clemency towards the thronging crowds who had decked his path with flowers, shouting “a Monmouth, a Monmouth,” and now reserved for execution. He is wholly occupied in selfish fears for himself: as before, so now, he lays the whole blame on others, who by false arguments had prompted him to the rash enterprise;—“*horrid people whom it was my misfortune to meet with.* But Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things I could say for myself, that I am sure would move your compassion, the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you that I may have that happiness to speak to your Majesty; for I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me you will be convinced of the zeal I have for your preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. Therefore, Sir, I shall make an end by begging your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse anything I have done; if I really did not think myself the most in the wrong that ever any man was, and had not from the bottom of my heart *an abhorrence of those who put me upon it*, and for the action itself. I hope God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as He has done mine with abhorrence of what I have done.”*

Such is the man who has been described by party

* Fox's History of the Reign of James II., p. 266. Echard, p. 771.

writers as the "ill fated, illustrious, generous, brave, patriotic Monmouth." Mr. Fox in his account of the sad spectacle of his death, says that "his qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and estimable in human nature!"* surely a strange perversion of judgment in a writer, himself sometimes lauded as an example of the amenities of social life.

The King granted Monmouth the interview he desired: it was but to triumph over his misfortunes, and ascertain whether he had really any secrets to disclose. Monmouth, prostrate at his feet, acknowledged his guilt, admitted that the late King had told him he was never married to his mother, and pleaded pathetically for his life, which he would be ever willing to sacrifice in his service. He even expressed his readiness to change his religion, reminding the king that he had originally been educated in the Roman faith.† "Remember, Sir," (he added) "I am your brother's son, and if you take my life, it is your own blood you will shed." With any other than an inexorable tyrant this last appeal would have prevailed. Charles had almost endangered his crown by a resolute adherence to James's right of succession against the sense of the nation, and the declared voice of the Commons. To sacrifice that brother's beloved son, faulty as he was, betrayed a cold hearted insensibility to the claims of gratitude, and the ties of nature. James stood unmoved over the doomed victim, kneeling before him, and bathed

* Fox's History of James II., p. 287.

† Burnet's History of his own Times.

in tears. The triumph of his revenge could only be completed on the scaffold. At length Monmouth, "when he saw he could gain nothing by further submissions, rose from his feet with a new air of bravery, and was carried back to the Tower." *

One day only was granted him to prepare for death. Still clinging to hope, he occupied the time in abject supplications for mercy. He wrote again and again to the king, and sent for some of the most influential persons about the court, whose interference he thought might gain him a respite, if not pardon. All was in vain. When the humblest of his adherents in this lately crushed rebellion, even women and children, were not spared, what hope could there be for Monmouth, the long hated rival, and competitor for the crown, the leader of enemies who, even in the former reign, had well nigh changed the order of succession?

James, though he had disregarded Ken's pathetic appeals for mercy towards the prisoners in the west, felt no resentment at his benevolent exertions for their relief, "nor so much as harboured any jealous thought of him." † He sent for him to attend Monmouth in his last hours. He rightly judged that his visits to the Somersetshire prisons were prompted only by a sense "of duty to his distressed brethren, to save them from perishing both in body and soul." ‡ Turner, Bishop of Ely, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Hooper, were joined with him to officiate for Monmouth. Of all persons living we might least expect to find the gentle and tender-

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 432.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 17. ‡ Ibid.

hearted Ken, an actor in the tragical scene that was preparing. The duty however being laid upon him, he performed it with his accustomed faithfulness: he remained with Monmouth in the Tower during the night of the 15th of July endeavouring to prepare him for eternity. He found him fearfully insensible to his sins of rebellion and adultery;—confident indeed of eternal happiness, but not on the saving condition of a true repentance. It is necessary to state this plainly; for he has been censured by Fox and others for unfeeling severity towards Monmouth, in his endeavours to awaken him to a contrite view of his past life. So difficult is it to satisfy prejudiced minds. Mr. Fox in particular is so great an admirer of the character of Monmouth, that he cannot bear any imputation against him. On the other hand he misjudges, and therefore miscolours, the acts and motives of the Divines, who were reluctantly compelled to speak home truths to the sufferer. The document from which Fox draws all his conclusions furnishes their best refutation. It is to be found in the first volume of the Somers' Tracts, entitled, *An Account of what passed at the execution of the late Duke of Monmouth*, published by authority, and signed by Bishop Ken, Bishop Turner, Dr. Tennison, Dr. Hooper, and the Sheriffs, who declare it to be "a true account." We need only compare Mr. Fox's commentary with the text to show the inaccuracy, and strained constructions, which run through this part of his History of James II. and as it brings a grave charge against our good Bishop, the reader will here expect to find his vindication, if such can be made.

Fox states that as Monmouth proceeded to the scaffold the two Bishops were with him in the carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower ; “ and one of them took that opportunity of telling him that their controversial altercations were not yet at an end ; and that upon the scaffold he would again be pressed for more explicit declarations of repentance.”* It would have been a more accurate version, and have given a truer colour to what follows, if he had stated, from the Account, that “ *the Duke himself entreated them to accompany him to the place of execution, and to continue with him to the last,*”† because it would have shown that, so far from their having said or done anything harsh or displeasing, he had received sympathy and comfort, if not derived conviction, from their previous attendance upon him in the Tower. In fact the “ controversial altercations ” were a mere inference of the writer’s own mind : for “ the Bishops made seasonable and devout applications to him all the way ; and one of them desired him not to be surprized if they to the very last upon the scaffold renewed those exhortations to a particular repentance, which they had so often repeated before.”‡

“ Certain it is,” Mr. Fox says, “ that none of these holy men seem to have erred on the side of compassion, or complaisance to their illustrious penitent.”§ Surely the most Christian, and to Monmouth the only effec-

* Fox’s History of James II., p. 281.

† “ Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth.” 1685. ‡ Ibid.

§ Fox’s History of James II., p. 280.

tual, compassion they could exercise towards him would be a zealous regard for his eternal welfare. This they emphatically showed in their "many pious ejaculations, and their earnest prayers,"* &c. As to complaisance, it is rather the priest's office, under such circumstances, by a close searching of the heart to awaken it to the voice of truth, that speaks of righteousness and judgment to come. Such a faithful candour was especially demanded towards this "illustrious penitent," who was no penitent in any sense, until brought to something like a feeling of his sins by their continued, earnest, and affectionate appeals. For we find that he began, on mounting the scaffold, as if he was about to make a premeditated speech in this manner: "I have had a scandal raised upon me about a woman, a lady of virtue and honour; I will name her, the Lady Henrietta Wentworth: I declare she is a very virtuous and godly woman; I have committed no sin with her; and that which hath passed betwixt us was very honest and innocent in the sight of God. I can bless God, that He has given me so much grace, that for these two years last past" (during which he had abandoned his Dukes, and their children for this guilty love)—"I have led a life unlike to my former course" (one of notorious and varied profligacy) "and have been happy."† Would not the Divines, who were attending him for the express purpose of rousing his conscience, have betrayed their trust, if they had not spoken plainly on such a strange perversion?

* "Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1685.

† Ibid.

But to pass from his private life to his public acts ; Mr. Fox dwells more particularly on the Divines "teazing him with controversy, and being far more solicitous to make him profess what they deemed the true creed of the Church of England (the doctrine of Non-resistance) than to soften and console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation."* Yet he himself shows that the prisoner stood in no need of help to such composure ; he lauds his equanimity and courage on the scaffold : and in the published "Account" we have Monmouth's repeated declarations, "I die with great cheerfulness, for I know I shall go to God ; I have no fear, as you may see by my face ; I am sure I shall go to God." So far from feeling alarm at his approaching fate, he was an example of its very opposite,—that worse indifference, against which their efforts were directed. He was insensible to all the considerations that would have crowded in upon the mind of a true penitent : he boasted of his own confidence, "God be praised, I have encouragement enough in myself : " "I die with all the joyfulness in the world."

He was untouched by any sense of the consequences of his rebellion. Not even those two thousand victims of his ambition,—his deluded, slaughtered followers,—those "wretched fugitives," as Fox describes them, "who were massacred in ditches, corn fields, and other hiding places,"† moved either his pity for their sufferings, or remorse for having occasioned them. "God be praised," he again said, "I die with a clear con-

* Fox's History of James II., p. 280.

† Ibid. p. 269.

science; *I have wronged no man!*" "How Sir," was the answer, "no man? have you not been guilty of invasion, and of much blood which has been shed? it may be the loss of many precious souls who followed you? you must needs have wronged a great many." These words struck him with feelings of compunction. "I am sorry for invading the kingdom; for the blood that has been shed; and for the souls which may have been lost by my means; I am sorry it ever happened: this he spoke softly."* After that they obtained an acknowledgment from him of "repentance for all his sins, known and unknown, confessed or not confessed." This was all they desired, — a heartfelt expression of repentance: they rejoiced in the opportunity, and at once pronounced, "God Almighty of His infinite mercy forgive you." No further question was put to him: "then all went to solemn commendatory prayers, which continued for a good space; the Duke of Monmouth and the company kneeling, and joining in them with great fervency." "During the preparations for his beheading many pious ejaculations were used by those that assisted him, with great fervency: ex. gr. 'God accept your repentance. God accept your imperfect repentance: my lord, God accept your general repentance. God Almighty show his omnipotent mercy upon you. Father, into thy hands we commend his spirit. Lord Jesus receive his soul.' Then the executioner proceeded to do his office."†

Surely the presence of these holy men could not be

* "Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth," 1650.

† Ibid.

considered altogether needless. If a sense of past sin be of any avail, Mr. Fox should applaud, rather than censure, a zeal that at length produced in Monmouth's mind the contrition to which he was at first a stranger. Did he think the sufferer's adherence, in the hour of death, to the principles of rebellion, which he had so long acted upon against every known law, human and divine, more praiseworthy than a humble and contrite spirit before God? or his natural courage and composure of mind more availing than a penitent confession?

We have no desire to justify Ken at the expense of his friends, the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Tenison, and Dr. Hooper, companions with him in this charitable work. We have reasoned as if he were equally responsible with the rest for all that is contained in the published "Account," and which carries with it their full justification. But even if Mr. Fox's general charge against the Divines were well grounded, we might claim for Ken a particular exemption. His biographer says, "because I have lately seen some reflections in a pamphlet, lately crept into the world, under the suspicious title of a 'Secret History,' wherein Dr. Ken is by name mentioned to teaze the Duke of Monmouth in vain on the scaffold to profess the doctrine of Passive Obedience, I think it proper boldly to affirm that our Bishop never acted or assisted there, but in the devotional part only. And this, tho' a negative, may be prov'd to satisfaction."* Hawkins must have derived this authoritative denial from the Bishop himself, who

* Hawkins's Life of Bishop Ken, p. 38.

was his uncle ; and it receives confirmation from a passage in one of Ken's own letters, written to Burnet some years after : " Passive Obedience," he there says, " is a subject with which I very rarely meddled."*

It must have been a great shock to his compassionate nature to be a compelled witness to the scene of unusual horror that followed,—to stand within a few paces of the unhappy nobleman, whose sufferings, owing to the executioner's unskilfulness and want of nerve, were protracted in a manner too painful to detail. The tragical sight, the handsome person, the youth and graceful manners, the brave bearing in his last moments, of this most dear son of the late King, whose memory yet lived in their hearts, excited the universal compassion of the people. The immense multitude that crowded to the very tops of the surrounding houses bemoaned his fate with tears : posterity still sympathizes with the sufferer in spite of his faults, which we have been compelled to remember only in defence of four English Prelates,† unjustly charged with a want of Christian tenderness.

No sooner was this sad spectacle over, than Ken hastened back to his diocese, where equally mournful scenes awaited him. The ferocious instruments of the King's revenge were let loose like hungry wolves upon his defenceless flock. James had resolved to strike

* Hawkins's *Life of Bishop Ken*, p. 33.

† Dr. Tenison was afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury by William III., and Dr. Hooper Bishop of St. Asaph, and then of Bath, by Queen Ann.

terror into the minds of the people by a severe example of vengeance. Neither rank, age nor sex was spared : it may be said that no page of our history presents such an amount of indiscriminate slaughter as the " Bloody Affizes " of the West of England. Chief Justice Jefferies was sent down with a special commission to try the rebels. Major General Kirke was ordered to attend with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. " It was not possible to find in the whole kingdom two men more devoid of religion, honour, and humanity : they were two cruel merciless tigers, that delighted in blood."* Hume describes Jefferies as " a wanton in cruelty ; he set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction." The victims found no mercy at his hands : he afterwards boasted that he had hanged more men than all the Judges of England since William the Conqueror. He had his reward : the King made him Lord Chancellor ;—his death bed in the Tower was one of horror and despair. " Kirke was a soldier of fortune, who had long served in Tangier, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entrance into Bridgewater he hanged nineteen prisoners without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the King's health, or the Queen's, or Judge Jefferies's. Observing their feet to quiver in

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 750.

the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them music to their dancing, and he immediately commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound." *

At Bridgewater, Taunton and Wells, the jails were crowded with the unhappy prisoners. True, they had been engaged in open rebellion; but they were afflicted, hungry, plundered, and under the terrors of death. These were unanswerable claims to the sympathy of Bishop Ken. He went from prison to prison ministering to their wants, and exercising all the office of mercy. Ten years afterwards, when he was a deprived Bishop, being summoned by King William's Privy Council to answer to a charge of promoting subscriptions for the relief of the non-juring clergy he modestly pleads that what he did on behalf of the prisoners in Monmouth's rebellion then gave no offence to the court. "My Lords," he says, "in King James's time there were about a thousand or more imprisoned in my Diocese, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ignorant men, and void of all religion: and yet, for all that, I thought it my duty to relieve them. It is well known to the Diocese that I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supplied them with necessaries myself as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same." †

* Hume's History of England.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 52.

CHAPTER XV.

Ken's "Exposition of the Church Catechism"—"Directions for Prayer"—"Prayers for the use of persons who come to the Baths"—Persecution of the French Huguenots—Ken's charitable disposition—His zeal in the Pastoral office.



IT is time to lead Bishop Ken from these scenes of misery to more congenial duties. To be the peaceful guide, the teacher, the counsellor, the comforter, the friend, the censor, when need was, of his widely scattered flock, were the offices that would best recreate his tried spirit. In these he exemplified the compassionate zeal of a primitive Bishop to promote the welfare of his people. His whole thoughts seem to have been engaged in prompting them to Christian holiness, especially by his example of meekness, charity, self denial, and prayer. He lived amongst his clergy, knowing that such a responsible work, to be effectual, must be uniform and abiding. "It was frequently said, by many of eminence, who knew him well, that they never knew any person so able, and earnest to do good in such a station as he was." *

Among the first objects at which his exertions aimed was the education of the young. In this he had already shown his zeal by the publication of his

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 12.

“Manual of Prayer,” for the use of the Winchester scholars: but it is not generally known that he was one of the earliest and most successful promoters of the system of Parish Schools,—now again, within the last thirty years, happily revived in England. “He found so much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: but said he would try whether he could not lay a foundation to make the next generation better. And this put him upon setting up many schools in all the great towns of his Diocese, for poor children to be taught to read, and say their Catechism. By this method and management he engaged the ministers to be more careful in catechizing the children of their parishes; and they were by him furnished with a stock of necessary books for the use of children. And we may now judge by the great and good success of the Charity-schools, which are now so numerous, what great and good ends he at that time proposed.”*

Thus with the system of Parish schools he connects the practice of catechizing: and not only did he enforce this in schools, but in Church also, as a duty expressly ordered in the Rubric,—a duty, in this our day of neglected ordinances, well-nigh obsolete. “The Church,” he says, “has enjoined all fathers and mothers, masters and dames, to cause their children, servants, and apprentices, to come to the Church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is appointed in the Catechism to be learned.”†

* Hawkins’s *Life of Ken*, p. 13.

† Preface to the “Practice of Divine Love.”

It is difficult to account for the prevalent neglect of that express order of our Church, "the Curate of every Parish shall diligently upon Sundays and Holy-days, after the second lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the Church instruct, and examine the children in some part of this Catechism." It cannot be that our Clergy need examples in their predecessors for enforcing this wholesome order: they have Bishops Andrews, Wilfon, Sancroft, and Wake, and many other pious and learned Prelates. Wherever the practice has been restored, it is found to excite a lively interest, not in the minds of the children and parents only but, in the congregation generally. It conveys to them a more simple exposition of Scripture, and a clearer view of doctrine than they gain from sermons: for, says George Herbert in his Country Parson, "there is in sermons a kind of state; in catechizing there is a humbleness very suitable to Christian regeneration. It is an admirable way of teaching, wherein the catechized will at length find delight, and by which the catechizer, if he once get the skill of it, will draw out of silly souls even the dark and deep points of religion."*

That he might more effectually help forward this great duty, the Bishop at once put forth the work already alluded to, "An Exposition on the CHURCH CATECHISM, or the Practice of Divine Love, composed for the Diocese of Bath and Wells." We are able to fix the precise date of its publication: the *Imprimatur* was granted at Lambeth, August 9, 1685, — being

* *The Parson's Catechizing.*

less than a month after his attendance on the scaffold with Monmouth, and in the first year of his Episcopate. Nothing can be more affectionate and persuasive than his exhortation to his people to secure the means of christian instruction to themselves, and their children, through the catechism. He dedicates it by "An Epistle to the Inhabitants within the Diocese of Bath and Wells," whom he addresses as his "Dearly Beloved in the Lord," calling himself "Thomas, your unworthy Bishop," and "wisheth them the Knowledge and Love of God."

"Since the Providence of God," he says, "who is wont to glorify His strength in the weakness of the instruments He uses, has caught me up from among the meanest herdmen* into the pastoral throne, and has been pleased to commit you to my care, the love I ought to pay to the Chief Shepherd obliges me to feed all his lambs and his sheep, that belong to my flock, and according to my poor abilities, to teach them the knowledge and the love of God, and how they may make them both their daily study and practice. One thing I most earnestly beg of you all, whether old or young, that ye would help me to save your own souls; that ye would learn and seriously consider, again and again, the terms on which your salvation is to be had. As for you who have families, I beseech you to instil into your children and servants their duty, both by your teaching and your example: in good earnest it is less cruel and unnatural to deny them bread for their mortal bodies, than saving know-

* Amos i. 1.

ledge for their immortal souls. Ye that are fathers, or masters, I exhort you to tread in the steps of Abraham, the father of the faithfull, and the friend of God, and like him to command your children and households to keep the way of the Lord. Ye that are mothers, or mistresses, I exhort you to imitate that unfeigned faith, which dwelt in young Timothy's grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice, who taught him from a child to know the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise to salvation; and like them to bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. God of his infinite mercy bless the whole to his glory, and to your edification, through Jesus the beloved. Amen. Amen."

Independent of its merits as an exposition of Catholic doctrines, this treatise abounds with passages of eminent force and beauty. They are so many solemn avowals of his attachment to the Anglican Church, for which he afterwards suffered imprisonment under one king, and deprival by another. They stamp him, as he has ever been considered, one of the most orthodox and holy Prelates of any age. They show his familiar acquaintance with Scripture, his fervent piety, and the exactness of his judgment, by which he weighed every doctrine in the balance of the divine word. These may well constitute him a safe guide, and as it were a last appeal, on questions of doctrine to all sincere members of our Church, who bring to the study of truth an unbiassed and teachable mind. As a book of prayer, it is even yet more admirable. He seems to pour forth a continuous stream of adoration and penitent love, calculated to exalt all hearts to

a foretaste of the unclouded joys to come. His whole life was an example of a devout spirit, which may be said to have been a leading feature of his character. We have already seen that nothing was permitted to interrupt "his closet addresses to his God," his recreation, and his studies, and the active work of his Diocese, being all made subservient to this highest duty and privilege, and how he accustomed himself to but one sleep, and rose often at one or two o'clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner, to join the angels in their work of praise.*

It was in this spirit that he directed the Winchester scholars, "as soon as they awoke in the morning, to offer the first fruits of the day to God." "When you are ready, look on your soul as still undrest, till you have said your prayers. Remember that God under the Law ordained a lamb to be offered up to Him every morning and evening. A lamb! that is a fit emblem of youth and innocence; think then that you are to resemble this lamb, and be sure every day to offer up yourself a morning and an evening sacrifice to God."

And as if this were a subject which could never be

* "Wake, and lift up thyself, my Heart,
And with the Angels bear thy part,
Who all night long unwearied sing,
Glory to the Eternal King.

I wake, I wake, ye Heavenly Choir;
May your devotions me inspire,
That I like you my age may spend,
Like you may on my God attend."

KEN'S Morning Hymn.

exhausted, he now again in this first year of his Episcopate, composed for the special use of the "Poor Inhabitants within the Diocese of Bath and Wells," a further treatise or manual, being "DIRECTIONS FOR PRAYER." "Sure I am," he says to them, "the zeal I ought to have for your salvation can suggest to me nothing more conducing to the good of your souls than to exhort and beseech you all, of either sex, to learn how to pray. I do not only incessantly pray for you myself, but I beg of you all to pray for yourselves, and I beseech you to read the following instructions; or if you cannot read yourselves, get some honest charitable neighbour to read them often to you; and God of His great mercy reward the charity of such neighbours. I must feed you with milk, before you can be capable of strong meat; and I must look upon you as lambs of my flock, which I am to use tenderly. And these following directions, which I give to parents for the training up of their children in piety, I do equally design for the training up of you. God of His infinite goodness blest them to you both. I exhort all you who are parents to instill good things into your children, as soon as ever they begin to speak: let the first words they utter, if it be possible, be these, '*Glory be to God.*' Accustom them to repeat these words on their knees, as soon as they rise, and when they go to bed, and oft-times in the day; and let them not eat or drink without saying, '*Glory be to God.*' The same method you observe in teaching your children, the same you may observe in teaching your servants, according as you see they want teaching: and you yourselves will reap the benefit of it, as well as your ser-

vants ; for the more devout servants they are of God, the more faithful servants will they be to you."

Then he gives them "A Method of Daily Prayer," being appropriate forms for all occasions. "As soon as ever you awake, offer up your first thoughts and words to God." "As you are rising say" &c. "As soon as you are dressed, kneel down, as our Saviour kneeled at His prayers, and remember you are in God's presence, and say your prayers with reverence and devotion." "After the like manner you may pray at night." "As you are going to bed say" &c. "As you began the day, so end it with glorifying God ; and when you are in bed say" &c. Then he gives ejaculations "at going out or coming in, at meals, at work, in the shop or market, in temptation or danger, at any time of the day." "You that have families I do further exhort that, besides your private prayers, you would offer up to God a morning and evening sacrifice in your families, and that every one of you would take up the holy resolution of Joshua, 'as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' And the prayers I advise you to use are taken out of the Common Prayer, as being most familiar and of greatest authority withal.* God of His infinite mercy blefs these instructions to His Glory, and to the furtherance of your devotion, through Jesus the the Beloved. Amen. Amen."

* This was also George Herbert's opinion : for when Mr. Duncan came to visit him in his last sickness, at the instance of his friend Nicholas Farrer, after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, "he said to Mr. Duncan, 'Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me : ' which being granted, Mr. Duncan asked him 'what prayers?'

He considered his work still incomplete, so long as any within range of his influence, for however short a time, could be found unprovided with prayers, suited to their peculiar case. Seeing therefore that many of the rich, as well as poor, suffering under various diseases, came to the Bath waters for the recovery of their health, he put forth another Manual, being "PRAYERS for the use of all persons who come to the Baths for cure."† He would make these medicinal waters, refreshing springs of spiritual consolation—"wells of water springing up unto everlasting life."

Such were the Bishop's unwearied endeavours to make men prayerful. He seemed to fear nothing so much as to lose irrevocable opportunities of doing good. Yet he was again, more than once in the course of this year, called away for very short periods. Parliament had been prorogued on the 2nd of July, in consequence of Monmouth's rebellion, the King judging it needful that the members should repair to their respective counties. They were appointed to meet again on the 4th of August, when the Bishop was present in the House of Lords, but only for one day, as a further adjournment immediately took place to the 4th of November. We find by the Journals that he and Sancroft again attended from the 11th to the 17th of November. On the 20th the King, finding that the Houses were much

To which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them. But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint.'—Walton's *Life of George Herbert*.

* See Markland's Edition of these Prayers; prefixed to his interesting *Life of Ken*. 1849. 12mo.

dissatisfied with his employing Roman Catholic officers in the army, contrary to law, again adjourned them to the 10th of February : but he never permitted them to meet afterwards. His resolution to govern without Parliament led to his downfall. Ken returned once more to his Diocese, and to renewed energies in the great work of the Pastoral cure. His tenderness and condescension conciliated all ranks : he spared no labour or persuasion to establish a unity of affection between the clergy and their people. No ministerial office was beneath his care. Not only in his Cathedral city did he ordain, confirm, and catechize ; but in the summer time he went about to the large Parish Churches, where he would preach twice, and catechize the children.* These labours made him venerable in the eyes of all men. He had no time to court the society of the great, being intent on the exact fulfilment of his duties, in which he always still thought himself defective. His own self-denial, and strictness of life, added force to all his exertions for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, of which he gave a faithful account to his Metropolitan, Archbishop Sancroft.†

He was the common father of his people : but the poor in Wells (who were very numerous) were the especial objects of his Christian sympathy. "He was very earnest in contriving proper expedients of relief for the needy ; and thought no design could better answer all the ends of charity than the setting up a workhouse in that place. But judging it not practicable without the advice, or at least the assistance of the Gentlemen, he

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 14. † *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round.

therefore often met and consulted with them. In this he had a double view ; to rescue the idle from vicious practice and conversation, and the industrious from the oppression of the tradesmen, who, to use his own expression, did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very scanty allowance for their work.* But he was disappointed in his charitable wishes: he “ found no suitable encouragement, and was forced to desist ” from his plan.

In the midst of these peaceful labours of the Bishop for the good of his own people, a voice of lamentation rose from a neighbouring country, so real and deep that it compelled the attention of all Europe. The Edict of Nantes had for nearly a century secured to the French Protestants a reluctant toleration. But it was reserved to France, in the accomplished and luxurious age of Louis XIV. to commit an act of insane cruelty, equalled only in her own avenging Revolution. Louis, confident in his ambitious projects for universal power, and prompted by a blind fanaticism to reduce all his subjects to his own creed, resolved to exterminate the Huguenots.† They were oppressed by a series of the most cruel military persecutions, known by the name of *dragonnades* ; their towns desolated, themselves put to the most ingenious and protracted torture. Thousands of innocent victims were massacred without fear or remorse. Thus the King consummated a deed of treachery and ingratitude, of so dark a hue, that it indelibly stains his own character, and the history of France ;—treacherous, be-

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 16.

† The Edict of Nantes was revoked 18th Oct. 1685.

cause it violated the pledge of a national compact, declared to be irrevocable,—and ungrateful towards a brave and loyal race, whom he had but lately thanked and applauded for their fidelity to his throne, when menaced by the war of the Fronde.

Ken's warm heart kindled at the spectacle of 50,000 victims of a stern intolerance, now refugees in England. Being appointed one of the Preachers at Whitehall in the following Lent, he took that occasion * to preach "a most excellent and pathetical discourse on the 6th of John, v. 17," in furtherance of subscriptions for the oppressed exiles. "After he had recommended the duty of fasting, and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant Religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up a liberal contribution. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop, who had undergone the censure of being inclined to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could show more." †

Amidst the general commiseration for the persecuted Huguenots James and his counsellors felt something more than indifference. If he did not, as some assert, congratulate the French tyrant on this "victory over heresy," which was declared by writers of that Church to be "greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar," he took every means to suppress a knowledge of the facts. He even caused a translation of Monsieur Claude's book, containing an account of the barbarous proceedings in France, to be burned at the Exchange by the common hangman ;—at once an outrage on the

* 14th March, 1686. † Evelyn's Diary, Vol. i. p. 625.

generous sympathy of his people, and an evidence of his own resolute designs for the establishment of Popery. "So mighty a power and ascendant," says Evelyn, "had the French ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers, who came over for shelter."

James, however, thought it prudent to yield to the call of the nation, and issued his letters patent to the Bishops for a general collection on behalf of the exiles. Charitable Ken immediately caused an address to be circulated through his Diocese, exhorting the Clergy with all expedition, affectionately and earnestly to persuade their people to contribute to so good a work. He begins his address, as usual, ascribing "All Glory to God." "I beseech you for the love of God, to be yourselves exemplary liberal, according to your ability, remembering how blessed a thing it is to be brotherly kind to strangers, to Christian strangers, especially such as those whose distress is very great, and in all respects most worthy of our tenderest commiseration, and how our most adorable Redeemer does interpret, and does proportionably reward, all the good we do to them, as done to Himself. God of His infinite mercy inspire this fraternal charity into your souls, and into the souls of all your Parish. THO. BATH AND WELLS.

"Wells, April 15th, 1686."

We might expect, when he invited his Clergy to set their parishioners a liberal example, he would himself be foremost in such a commission of charity. Accordingly we have a remarkable act of munificence recorded of

him at this juncture. As if to open a way for him in a work of love so near his heart, he opportunely "received a fine of four thousand Pounds, and the greater part was given to the French Protestants ! so little regard had he to future contingencies."*

Unmeasured as was his bounty to a whole community of sufferers, and earnest as he was in advocating their cause, and collecting the subscriptions, he still found time to be gracious and charitable to the meanest individual. We are often ready enough by contributions of money, which occasion us no sensible privation, to absolve ourselves from the harder duty of giving our time and personal care to those who are in need. Ken never lost the opportunity of discoursing kindly, and patiently, with the lowest who approached him. "He had a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether he could say the Lord's Prayer or Creed."† He had a very tender regard for every sheep of his flock. "The shepherd," says St. Chrysostom, "leaving the ninety and nine, did not return till he had completed his number, by recovering that sheep that was lost. Tell me not it is only one : remember that it is a soul for which all things visible

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 12.—In this, as in many other particulars, he resembled George Herbert, who would allow no thanks to himself for the alms he bestowed ; but would have them say, "God be praised, God be glorified." "So doth he also, before giving, make them say their prayers first, or the Creed, and ten commandments ; and as he finds them perfect, rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and secular ; but this is to give like a priest."—*The Parson's Charity*.

were made; for which laws were given, miracles wrought, and mysteries effected; for which God spared not his own Son. Think how great a price has been paid for this one sheep, and bring him back to the fold." Charitable Dr. Hammond says "Oh what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life, were it to be the instrument of rescuing one soul!"

The rich man's barn, it is said, is the poor man's storehouse. So the Bishop in his palace was the bountiful steward for distributing to every class a portion of his worldly means. He sought out new ways of charity, knowing that the inequalities of life are ordained for the probation of faith, both in those who have abundance, and those who want. He gave largely, for he loved much: he discerned Christ's pierced Hand ever ready to receive the gift, dispensed to the least of His poor ones,—“these My brethren, anhungered, athirst, naked, strangers;” and he heard the voice, “thou doest it unto Me.” His benevolence flowed out of a condescending spirit, that made it an offering of spikenard, very precious to Him who giveth the grace to bestow, and the reward. “When he was at home on sundays, he would have twelve poor men or women, to dine with him in his hall: always endeavouring, whilst he fed their bodies, to comfort their spirits by some chearful discourse, generally mixt with some useful instruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them, to carry home to their families.”*

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 14. — Such was George Herbert's courtesy. “The poor are welcome to his table; whom he sometimes purposely takes home with him, setting them close by him,

Happily this ancient hall in the Palace of Wells remains as it was ; and there hangs a portrait of the good Bishop, with the benignant smile * that beamed from his countenance, when he sat in “cheerful discourse” with his aged guests. Thus literally did he fulfil his Master’s injunction : “when thou makest a dinner, or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours, lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind : and thou shalt be blessed ; for they cannot recompense thee : for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.”

About this time he was called upon for another Edition of his “Practice of Divine Love.” As in the case of his Manual of Prayers, he had been misrepresented in “a Popish pamphlet” to hold the Roman doctrine of Invocation of Saints,—so now they claimed him as a believer in the dogma of Transubstantiation. He thus refutes the charge in a preface to the Second Edition : “The author thinks himself obliged to declare that he does now, and always did, humbly submit this Exposition to the judgment of the Church of England, conformably to whose Articles he desires all good Christians to interpret it : and to prevent all misunderstandings for

and carving for them, both for his own humility, and their comfort, who are much cheered with such friendlinesses. Having then invited some of his parish, he taketh his times to do the like to the rest ; so that, in the compass of the year, he hath them all with him.”

* Granger, speaking of the respect in which Ken was held in the court of Charles II. for his unaffected piety, says “the openness of his countenance corresponded with the simplicity of his character.”

the future, he has in his revising it made some few little alterations, not at all varying his meaning, but his expressions, to render the whole as unexceptionable as becomes a book, not designed for dispute, but for devotion."

It will be seen by the altered passage in this Edition (published in 1686) that whilst he repudiates the Roman error of Transubstantiation, he conveys his deliberate and confirmed adherence to the Anglican (because Catholic) doctrine of the "Real Presence" in the Holy Eucharist.

1685.

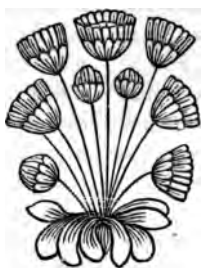
O God Incarnate, how Thou canst "give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink;" how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh and drinketh Thy Blood dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him, how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal; how Thou, who art in Heaven, art present on the Altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy Love, and on Thy Omnipotence, to make good Thy word, though the means of doing it I cannot comprehend."

1686.

O God Incarnate, how the bread and the wine, unchanged in their substance, become Thy Body and Thy Blood; after what extraordinary manner Thou, who art in Heaven, art present throughout the whole sacramental action to every devout receiver, how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh, and drinketh Thy Blood, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal, I can by no means comprehend; but I firmly believe all Thou hast said, and I firmly rely on Thy Omnipotent Love to make good thy word; for which all love, all glory be to Thee."

No one who carefully reads his Exposition of the

Catechism can doubt his hearty concurrence in the purity and soundness of the Faith, taught in the Church of England. In that part which expounds the Creed, he says, "Glory be to Thee, O God, Who hast made me a member of the particular Church of England, whose faith and government, and worship, are holy and Catholic, and Apostolic, and free from the extremes of irreverence and superstition; which I firmly believe to be a sound part of the Church universal."



CHAPTER XVI.

Measures of James II. for establishing Romanism—Ken's Pastoral Letter to his Clergy—His Sermon at Whitehall, upholding the Church of England—His boldness, and eloquence as a Preacher—The King's Declaration of Indulgence.



PUBLIC jealousy and discontent began now to forebode a coming storm, which called the Bishop from the Palace at Wells to a more stirring sphere of action. Notwithstanding the King's open profession of Romanism, the people had been at first disposed to trust the promise of his coronation oath, that he would maintain the integrity of the Church of England. Nothing could be more explicit than that oath. The ceremony is thus described by Sandford.

Then the Petition or request of the Bishops to the King was read by the Bishop of Gloucester in a clear voice, in the name of the rest standing by.

Our Lord and King; we request you to pardon us and to grant and preserve unto us, and the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice, and that you will protect and defend us, as every good King in his kingdom ought to be Protector, and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

“ The King answered, ‘ With a willing and devout heart I promise to grant you my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the churches

committed to your charge, all canonical privileges and due law and justice : and that I will be your Protector and Defender, to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good King in his kingdom ought it right to protect and defend the Bishops, and churches under their government.'

" Then the King rose from his chair, and being attended by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and supported by the two Bishops (Ken and Crew) and the sword of state carried before him, he went to the altar and laying his hand upon the Evangelists, took the Oath following. ' The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God, and the contents of this Book.' And then he kissed the Book."*

His zeal, however, for the Roman Church soon prompted him to violate this pledge, and engaged him in an enterprize that could only succeed by prostrating the laws and liberties he had sworn to maintain. The House of Commons, in the previous reign, had passed resolutions to exclude him from the succession on the ground of his avowed religion. This might have indicated to him the firm resolve of the people to maintain the Anglican faith. But he would risk all rather than compromise his tenets by any disguise. No sooner was he seated on the throne than he bent his whole mind to the establishment of what he considered the only true Church ; doubtless from a vivid sense of responsibilities that lay beyond the " judgment of man's day." So far he challenges our respect. At no

* King James's Coronation : by Francis Sandford, folio, 1687.

period, before or after his dethronement, did he swerve from this fixed principle. He staked his crown in the cause of his religion; and fanatic though he might be, and tyrant as he was, his self-sacrifice was an act of personal devotion. In one of his letters, when Duke of York, he writes, "Pray, once for all, never say any thing to me again of turning Protestant: do not expect it, or flatter yourself that I shall ever be it. I never shall; and if occasion were, I hope God would give me His grace to suffer death for the true Catholic religion, as well as banishment. What I have done was not hastily, but upon mature consideration, and foreseeing all, and more than has yet happened to me." *

James was not wanting in qualities that in all ages have fitted men to bend others to their own will. Of unquestioned courage in the field, untiring in attention to business, frugal of his revenue, zealous even to hardihood in the pursuit of his ends, reckless of the means for their attainment, decisive and tenaciously firm of purpose. But with these he had the corresponding faults; being self-confident, regardless of counsel, and therefore precipitate, and forgetful of the lessons of experience. He knew not the art to govern men by their sympathies, their prejudices, and their interests: and he was singularly unobservant of the real character of those about him, confiding where he should have suspected,—mistrustful where he might have reposed the fullest confidence.

Either of his fondly cherished designs would have demanded all the patience and skill of a consummate

* Lord Dartmouth's MSS. notes on Burnet, vol. i. p. 358.

tactician ; — one, to make himself an absolute King over a brave people, whose free institutions were endeared to them by chequered but successful struggles — the other to re-establish, under the dominion of the Pope, a worship that had been rendered odious to them by cruel persecutions. The influence he had exercised in the foreign policy of his brother's reign tended to encrease the public prejudice against him. Even his own naval battles, were coldly thought of it is true they sustained the English character for undaunted bravery, but were directed rather to weaken their Protestant allies, the Dutch, than to humble the pride of Louis.

The nation, divided between attachment to the pure and primitive Church of England, and the modern spirit of Puritanism, concurred in a repugnance to Romish doctrines and government. All were roused to a deeper aversion by the King's hasty introduction of foreign priests and Jesuits, and of pompous ceremonial which both parties considered to be an unreal mockery of worship. This was aggravated by a solemn but futile embassy to the Pope, for the avowed purpose of reconciling the three kingdoms to the Roman see. The Ambassador, moreover, was received by the haughty Pontiff with an indifference that wounded the national pride, at all times jealous of foreign authority.

The King pursued his objects with infatuated zeal. He not only dispensed with the assistance of Parliament and raised a large standing army, but yielded himself to the guidance of a priestly junto, and the interested counsels of Louis, contrary to the advice of the Pop

himself, who foresaw the fatal results of so unequal a contest.

He proceeded at first with comparative caution in England, where his movements were jealously watched by a more powerful aristocracy, and a more enlightened people. But in Scotland he at once resolved to set himself above the laws, assuming by his "sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, to suspend, stop, and disable all laws, statutes, or acts of Parliament,"* against the Romanists, claiming for them the free exercise of their religion, which by the statutes was prohibited. In Ireland his measures were taken with yet greater boldness: the Titular Bishops had been authorized to hold a general Convention of the Romish Clergy on the 15th of May, 1686. The priests had instructions from their respective Bishops to give an exact list of all the men in their parishes, capable of bearing arms; Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant, was ordered to dispense with the Judges taking the Oath of supremacy; nineteen Romanists were sworn in as Privy Counsellors;—the corporations were filled with them;—all the Protestant officers and soldiers were dismissed from the several regiments, and Roman Catholic chaplains appointed; "so that I doubt not, (says Lord Clarendon on the 6th of July, 1686) within a month, or little more, the whole army will be composed, as his Majesty would have it." Thus "300 officers lost their commissions, and above 5000 soldiers were sent pilgrimizing, having nothing to trust to but the charity of others, which in those times was

* 12th February, 1687.

very cold, answerable to the season of the year, and the climate of the country." * "Sir Alexander Fitton, a person detected of forgery both at Westminster and Chester, and fined by the House of Lords, was brought out of jail, and set over the highest court, as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to keep the King's conscience, having no other quality to recommend him besides his being a converted Papist, and is a renegade to his religion and country."† To complete all, Colonel Talbot, a Papist, a mere soldier of fortune, insolent and unprincipled, was created Earl Tyrconnel, and sent over to supersede Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant, and root out every faith but the Roman.

Emboldened by this success, James made further advances towards the establishment of Popery in England. Five Roman Catholic Lords were admitted to the Privy Council. The Judges were called upon to declare from the bench that the Crown was absolute,—that the penal laws were powers committed to the King for the execution of justice, but not to bind his authority, or prevent his dispensing with them. This was preparatory to the same step he had taken in Scotland. He sent for the principal members of both houses, and received them privately in his closet, endeavouring to persuade them to abjure their religion, and to acquiesce in his measures. The chief officers of state who refused compliance were removed. Popish sheriffs and justices of the peace, taken from the lowest of the people were appointed in the counties, as

* *Life of James II.* 8vo. 1702, p. 145.

† *Clarendon's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 151.

fit instruments of his purpose. All of every class who had courage to avow their attachment to the Anglican faith, and refused to comply with his arbitrary measures, were dismissed from their employments. Popish bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and under the title of "Vicars Apostolical," issued to the laymen of that communion pastoral letters, which were printed at the royal press.

But the measure which, above all others, brought the nation to a full sense of his designs against the English Church, was the appointment of an Ecclesiastical Court of Inquisition, with unlimited powers to reform all abuses, contempts, and offences of whatever nature, to cite before them ecclesiastical persons of every degree or dignity, and to censure, suspend, or deprive them without appeal; and further to alter the statutes of the Universities, and all other corporations, civil and religious. The greater part of the Commissioners were Roman Catholics; Lord Chancellor Jefferies, "of nature cruel, and a slave of the court," was appointed always to preside. Thus at once was established an authority, more extensive and arbitrary than the hated Star Chamber, and wielded by the blood-stained hand of one of the most infamous of men.

This court prohibited the clergy from controverting the doctrines of Rome in their sermons; the king considering such a topic to be a reflection on his person and government. He had already issued an order to the Archbishops to interdict preaching on disputed points. But the clergy every where declared themselves boldly against the errors of the Romish faith;

“ and were wonderfully followed by the people. Not one considerable profelyte was made in all this time. The party was exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the Reformed religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries.”*

Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's, and Dean of Canterbury, having made himself conspicuous in defence of the Church, the King required Compton, Bishop of London, immediately to suspend him from any further preaching within his Diocese, for “ presuming to make unbecoming reflections, and insinuating fears and jealousies of our government.” The answer of the Bishop was worthy of his responsible station: “ he humbly conceived that he was bound to proceed according to law, and therefore it was impossible for him to comply, because he must act in the capacity of a judge, and no judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cause, and has cited the party.” Compton had already rendered himself obnoxious to the court; and it was thought that, in making him the first victim of their exorbitant power, the commissioners would show the world their resolution to carry out the King's designs. Their very first act therefore (on the 6th of August, 1686) was to summon him to the Council Chamber at Whitehall. Compton pleaded the illegality of the court, denied their jurisdiction, and was suspended from all episcopal functions, on pain of deprivation, and removal from his Bishopric.

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 636.

While the King's public measures were urged on by an intemperate zeal and precipitancy that ruined the cause he had in hand, he was prompted by the rash counsels of the Queen and the Jesuits who thronged the palace, to exhibit to the wandering people the most obnoxious ceremonies of his religion. As the dispenser of all offices of honour and emolument, he might perhaps have gained over many profelytes by a cautious and watchful policy : but his harsh and imperious nature could brook no conditions, or limit to his will. Confident in the soundness of his creed, extravagant in the assumption of his prerogative, and relying on the devotion of the army, he ventured to rend asunder the bond of union between himself and his subjects. The most faithful of his Protestant adherents were startled by a public celebration of Mass in the royal chapel. Evelyn thus describes the scene : " I went to hear the music of the Italians in the new chapel, now first opened publickly at Whitehall for the Popish service. Here we saw the (Roman Catholic) Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with six or seven Jesuits and others, in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sat in a chaire with armes pontifically, was ador'd and cens'd by three Jesuits in their copes ; then he went to the altar, and made divers cringes, then censing the images, and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place : the crozier, which was of silver, was put into his hand, with a world of mysterious ceremony, the music playing, with singing. I could not have believed I should ever have seen such things in the King of England's Palace, after it

had pleased God to enlighten this nation ; but our great sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing, which I hope He will in mercy and His good time restore to its purity." *

The clergy perceived that the full establishment of Popery was the determinate object of all the King's measures. They had ever been firm adherents of the throne, — even to the length of passive obedience and non-resistance. But these ceased to be a duty, when the very existence of the reformed religion was at stake : to compromise that were a betrayal of the Faith they had vowed to uphold. They were under a higher obligation of obedience than any lay authority could challenge, and bound to undergo all sufferings rather than violate their solemn trust. It was clear to them that an attempt was made to restore by the secular arm a Church, which had overlaid the Apostolic Creed with novel articles of belief. They prepared themselves therefore to a courageous defence, resolved to stand or fall as champions of primitive truth.

In the foremost rank was the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He had lately, on the approach of Lent, addressed a Pastoral Letter to his clergy concerning their behaviour during that season, which he says " has been anciently and christianly set apart for penitent humiliation of soul and body, for fasting, and weeping and praying." He pleads his Episcopal authority, unworthy as he was, for calling upon them to mourn for their sins, and the sins of the nation. He justifies himself by the example of St. Cyprian, who from his

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 634, 29th December, 1686.

retirement wrote an excellent Epistle to his Clergy. He exhorts them to prayer, and mortification, and deeds of charity, to deal their bread to the hungry, and to Protestant strangers, now fled hither for sanctuary. He animates them to the greatest zeal in private and public prayers, morning and evening, in their families, and in Church—"This I might enjoin you to doe on your canonical obedience, but for love's sake I rather beseech you. Be not discouraged, if but few come to the 'solemn assemblies:' but go to the 'house of prayer,' where 'God is well known for a sure refuge;' go, though you go alone, or but with one besides yourself. 'Teach publickly, and from house to house, and warn every one night and day with tears' to repent, to fast, and to pray, and to give alms; warn them to continue stedfast in that 'faith, once delivered to the Saints,' in which they were baptized; to keep the word of God's patience, that God may keep them in the hour of temptation." He shows from the example of David, who 'wept whole rivers,' of Daniel and Paul, how the greatest saints have been the greatest mourners. He alludes to the public provocations, and the public judgments; and ends with a prayer that "the God of all grace may establish, strengthen, settle you in the true Catholick, and Apostolick Faith, profess'd in the Church of England."

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"THO. BATH AND WELLS."*

From the Palace in Wells,
February 17, 1687.

* "A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Bath and Wells." 4to. 1688.

Employments such as this were best suited to his gentle nature ; and he would fain have reserved all his powers to promote the welfare of his diocese. But the interests of the Church now required him to put aside the more private duties of consolation and instruction, that he might publicly vindicate her doctrines, though it should be in opposition to the orders of the Court of Commission, and within hearing of its judges. — Being appointed to preach at Whitehall on the 13th of March, 1687 (the 5th Sunday in Lent), he came to London, resolved to bear his testimony to the truth. The sermon was preached “ before the Princess of Denmark,* and a great crowd of people, and at least thirty of the greatest nobility,” of whom perhaps some talebearer would report his words to the King.

His text was taken from the Gospel of the day, St. John vii. 46. “ Which of you convinceth Me of sin, and if I say the truth, why do ye not believe Me ? ” “ He described through his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish Priests, and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written word, and to persevere in the faith taught in the Church of England, *whose doctrine for Catholic and soundness he preferred to all the Communities and Churches of Christians in the world*; concluding with a kind of prophecy that, whatever it suffered, it should

* Afterwards Queen Ann : she had married George, Prince of Denmark.

after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries, and the glory of God.”* It does not appear that he received any reprimand for this boldness, as he did afterwards, on a like occasion. Evelyn says “the sermon contributed not a little to the manifest disadvantage of the Popish interest.”

The following Sunday, 20th March, 1687, being that next before Good Friday, he preached again at St. Martin’s Church, on Christ’s agony in the garden: his text was St. Matt. xxvi. 36—40. “Then cometh Jesus with them to a place called Gethsemane,” &c. Here was a subject to absorb all feelings into a contemplation of the mysterious sufferings of the Son of God. At that sacred season, when the Church commemorates the approach of the death He was to die for all, who could enter into political or theological controversy? “*The crowd of people was not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher*, describing the bitterness of our blessed Saviour’s agony, the ardour of His love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate His patience and resignation, the means by watching against temptations and over ourselves, with fervent prayer to attain it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most pathetic discourses.”†

We cannot be surprized that one so high in station, so eloquent and undaunted, should draw crowds of people to hear him during the prevailing excitement. But he has deeper and more lasting claims to the confidence of the Church in all times. It was not merely the force of his oratory, his noble images, and moving

* Evelyn’s Diary, vol. i. p. 637.

† Ibid. p. 638.

exhortations, that gathered all classes round him: not the copiousness of his invention, nor the purity of his language, as he set before them the promises and threatenings of the Gospel. These and other powers had gained him, even from King James, the character of being the most eloquent preacher among the Protestants: but there was much beyond these qualities in all he said. The secret of his persuasiveness lay in the sublime mysterious truths, inculcated in every discourse. With a paternal love he drew men to desire the company of angels, and the unclouded happiness of the eternal Kingdom. Whilst he expressed a deep and tender concern for the spiritual advancement of the Church, vindicating the truth of her doctrines, and exhorting all men to a holy constancy in her defence, he reminded them that the Church is only glorious, because she is the ordained instrument for drawing men to Him who was lifted up for their salvation.

On these occasional visits to London, he was the guest of the Bishop of Ely, who had his palace near Holborn, and we find that he used to assist at the services in the Bishop's Chapel. It was about this time that the Princess Ann wrote a letter to Dr. Turner to keep her a place, that she might listen to him. "I hear the Bishop of Bath and Wells expounds this afternoon in your Chapel, and I have a great mind to hear him; therefore I desire you would do me the favour to let some place be kept for me, where I may hear well, and be the least taken notice of: for I will bring but one body with me, and desire I may not be known. I should not have given you the trouble, but that I was afraid if I sent any body,

they might have made some mistake. Pray let me know what time it begins?"* We may well believe how the Chapel was crowded, when it was necessary for the Princess to have a place reserved for her, that she might hear the eloquent author of the Exposition of the Catechism.

Urged on by a blind and fatal confidence, James now ventured on the great measure by which he hoped to accomplish all his ends;—the suspension of the Test, and other penal laws against Romanists and Dissenters. Whatever may be our opinion of the injustice of such laws, it is obvious that, having been enacted by Parliament, the King's claim to suspend them by his mere authority was illegal. This had been fully established in the reign of Charles II. who had made a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672: but on the remonstrance of both Houses of Parliament cancelled it, tore off the seal himself, and acquainted the Houses that he had done so, with this further assurance, which was entered upon record in the Journals of the Lords, "that it should never be drawn into example or consequence."†

James, however, would be restrained by no law but his own will. Having carried his point in Scotland and Ireland, he published, on the 4th of April 1687,‡ a general Declaration of liberty of conscience to all his subjects, proclaiming it to be his "Royal will and pleasure, that the Oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations, mentioned in the

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 208.

† Kennett's *Hist.* Vol. iii. p. 487. 8th Nov. 1673.

‡ London Gazette of this date.

James, in the year 1687, was not at any time employed in any office of state or military. This Declaration, however, contained the various acts of Protestant Dissenters, and was not intended to be a declaration of their project of introducing Dissenters to all offices of state, under cover of a general declaration.

But the Dissenters viewed it as a princely act of clemency. Their ardours poured in from all denominations. No language could be too strong to express their admiration of the most enlightened and generous of Kings, who had removed all restraint from the consciences of his people. Their triumph was exuberant; and not the less genuine they thought this act of toleration struck at the fundament of the Church. James seemed to enjoy a momentary success in fomenting the spirit of jealousy between them. He hoped to make their divisions a stepping stone to the establishment of his own views. The Dissenters were ready to fall into the snare, forgetting that if Popery were once set up on the ruins of the Church of England, they themselves would afterwards be an easy prey. But the artifice did not long elude detection. They soon perceived that this sudden toleration was but a pretence. They called to mind the long period of their slights and disabilities at the instigation of James, and how he had always retained his repugnance to their principles. To them he had constantly ascribed his father's death. They remembered also how marked a preference he had always shown to the members of the Church, praising

them as good and loyal subjects, faithfully attached to the monarchy. They could not but reflect that a Roman Catholic prince must needs labour to extirpate the tenets, which he pronounced to be heretical ; and that they would be the first to feel the consequences of his success. The Church party likewise clearly saw that the King, disappointed of their expected support, wished to undermine their influence by pretending a liberality wholly foreign to his nature. These convictions seemed likely to soften the jealousies of both, and might have led to more charitable sentiments towards each other. But events crowded on so fast they had scarcely time to do more than indicate a disposition to mutual forbearance, and a united resistance to the establishment of Romanism. The whole brunt of the contest fell on the Church, and nobly did she sustain it.

The King, when it was too late, perceived that he had overacted his part : he says “ he had much heightened the general disaffection by the great countenance he showed to many noted Presbyterians, who were in outward show grateful for their present ease ; and as it is natural for a Prince to be pleas’d with those who are pleas’d with him, so they were well looked upon at Court, and their counsel made use of in the management of several private affairs, as the regulating Corporations, and the like : but this was the sequel of that train, which his treacherous counsellors had traced out for him, to set those against him, who might otherwise have been his friends, and to court those who, they were sure, never would.” *

* “ *Memoirs writ of his own hand.*” Clarke, Vol. ii. p. 165.

CHAPTER XVII.

Ken's Sermon in the Abbey Church of Bath—The King touches for the Evil in the Abbey—Ken's conduct on the occasion—His letters to Archbishop Sancroft.

THE Bishop, having preached his Lent Sermon at Whitehall, returned as usual to his Diocese: we find him on the following Ascension day (5th May, 1687) in the Abbey Church of Bath, where he preached on Psalm xlvii. 5. "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet." The Sermon itself is not extant: but we gather some of its principal points from a scarce tract, published at the time by an Irish Jesuit. The author had been induced by some high praises of the Bishop's eloquence to attend, for the first time in his life, the service of the Reformed Church, being "no less curious than desirous to hear him."

The tract is entitled, "ANIMADVERSIONS, by way of answer to a Sermon, preached by Dr. Thomas Kenne, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the Cathedral Church of Bath, on Ascension-day last, being the 5th of May, 1687:" It is dedicated to the King, and published "with allowance." It begins, "I was honoured, My Lord, with being one of your Auditors last Ascension-day, in the afternoon, at the cathedral church of Bath. Your Lordship does not, I own,

want the parts of an Orator, and of an Evangelical one too, had you but suck'd your doctrine (as St. John hath done) '*de sacro Dominici pectoris fonte*,' that is to say within the Bosom of his only true Spouse on Earth, the Roman Catholic Church, Mother and Mistress of all visible churches."

The writer "was much astonished at the odd sight of a preacher beginning a Sermon without making the sign of the cross." He informs us that the Bishop "was a full hour and a half in chair." "I took notice that your Lordship gave a fling at the Pope's Supremacy, to which you show'd all aversion imaginable, and that because he is call'd Supream Spiritual Head of Christ's Church on Earth. We call His Holiness, it is true, Supream Spiritual and Visible Head, Vicar of Jesus Christ, and successor to St. Peter, the first visible Head our Saviour hath ordained in his Church. I remember you said that Jesus Christ was, and is, the only Spiritual Head of His Church. You must needs know I admir'd * much your vehemency in protesting against that Church, which allows of any Visible Spiritual Head: you flew to such eagerness of contradiction against this Spiritual Supremacy, that I thought you had some solid authority to disprove the pretended abuse, till at last I found you had no such proof in nature."—

"Let us now come to the controversy of the last part, which was with much vehemency against the Real Presence. I did no sooner hear your solemn protestation against this Holy Sacrament, than imme-

* i. e. was much astonished at.

namely I supposed you were an abjurator, ready to swear point blank that Christ's most sacred Humanity is not really and substantially on our altars in virtue of the sacramental words: for I saw you exhorted with passion your People 'not to be tottered by every blast of wind that shall say Christ is on this altar, or Christ is on that altar, for Christ is actually in Heaven, and shall continue there till He comes to judge at the end of the world.' In fine, I remember your Lordship protested mightily against Roman Catholics for coining and forging new Articles of Faith, as well in relation to Transubstantiation, as the Spiritual Supremacy, &c.' This is the substance, my Lord, of all the controvertible points I took notice of in your last Ascension Sermon."

On the subject of the Real Presence, he fancies that he has made a discovery of the Bishop's contradicting his previous writings. "You are not constant to yourself: for now you receive Christ's Flesh and Blood virtually, now figuratively, another time spiritually by Faith, and in the Exposition of your Catechism you contradict all. Your words, my Lord, are Catholick enough on paper, but quite contrary to what you teach in the Pulpit; for there you say that the Body and Blood of Christ is verily and indeed taken by the Faithful, and here you say not at all: sometimes one way, and sometimes another, spiritually to-day by Faith only, and virtually to-morrow, and in your Catechism you write 'indeed and verily.'"

The Jesuit makes another fancied discovery, and therein pays a tribute to the Bishop's holy life at the expense of his candour: "unless I be much mistaken, that day's controversie was in order to take away all

fuspicion of your being Roman Catholickly inclined : for your Lordship living (as *Seneca* saith) *sine impedi-mento*, that is to say, without a wife, and having the reputation of one that lives morally well, which is enough for the Rabble* to say you are Popishly affected, you undertook that day's work to take away the scandal, which had no other ground than your good works : thank then, my Lord, your own Church for this abuse, which proceeds from that unhappy Merit-killing doctrine, which drives out of your schools all good Works, and meritorious actions."

It appears the Jesuit could not resist his curiosity to hear once more the eloquent Bishop ; for he went the next Friday to hear him preach again ; he bestows only a short notice of reprobation on that sermon : "To this purpose (of meritorious actions) I remember the Friday following your Lordship used all the means in your Instruction of Faith to persuade your auditors that Abraham's justification was for his faith, and not for his good works : all your proof was, because Abraham believed before he was circumcised," &c. "I think I cannot deal fairer with your Lordship than remit you to the western window of that cathedral, wherein I heard you preach, and there you will find in capital letters your own judgment,† drawn out of the 2nd chapter of St. James v. 26. 'For as the body without the spirit is dead, so Faith without good Works is Dead also.'"

* Wood says of this tract, "never was so much ignorance and impudence in so small a Pamphlet expressed, as the true sons of the Church of England usually said."

† i. e. refutation.

It is difficult to say who was the author of this Tract. He published only his initials F. I. R., designating himself "a most loyal Irish subject, of the Company of Jesuits." No doubt he was an attendant of the Queen, who was at this time drinking the Bath waters. He could not perform a more dutiful service to royalty than to attack so eminent a Bishop in his pastoral chair: he "consecrates himself, and this little paper, together with all the faculties of his soul and body, to His most sacred Majesty's spiritual and temporal service;" and prays that "your Majesty and your Royal Consort may be settled on a Throne of Glory in Heaven, after living a full century of years in all prosperity on earth, to the perfect conversion of all your subjects."

We shall see how effectually James thwarted the latter part of this good wish. His object now was to persuade the Parliament to confirm by statute his Declaration of Indulgence. But the Members remained stedfast: he miscalculated the English character in supposing that they would barter their dearest rights for the empty condescensions of the royal interviews, which served rather to confirm their sense of the public danger, than to win their concurrence. If the only high way to his favour lay through Rome, they were not prepared for such a journey. "Most of the Parliament men were spoken to in His Mj^{ty}'s closet, and such as refused, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of great trial, but hardly one of them assented, which put the Popish interest much backward."³

The King, in his Memoirs, says, "the generality of the gentry were so byassed against the Declaration of Indulgence, that when His Majesty thought fit to ask many persons of distinction to make their resolutions therein, he found a much greater reluctancy than could well have been imagined; and indeed that method was no ways relish'd by the people."*

The King therefore dissolved the Parliament, and issued writs for a new election. He then set out on a state progress through the Western Counties, in hopes that the royal presence might further his grand project of a new and more compliant Parliament. Before this, however, he prepared a splendid pageant for the edification of the people. The Pope was no friend to James's chief counsellors, the Jesuits, and had great misgiving of their manœuvres in driving on to a hasty crisis: but he could not resist the invitation to appoint a nuncio from the Holy See. He hoped perhaps that the influence of this recognized Ambassador might restrain the reckless zeal of the King. It was contrived that the nuncio should be publicly received at Windsor the day after the Dissolution of Parliament. "To fill up the character of Nuncio with more pomp and lustre, he had been consecrated Archbishop of Amasia in the royal chapel at Whitehall, † by the Vicar Apostolical in England, assisted by two other Roman Catholic Bishops. He was now to make his public entry as a foreign minister, and the government itself was to glory in the account of it.

"The 3rd of July, Monsieur Ferdinand d'Adda,

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 143.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 116.

Archbishop of Amasia, Domestic Prelate and assistant to His Holiness the Pope, and Apostolic Nuncio, had public audience of their Majesties at Windsor, being conducted by His Grace the Duke of Grafton, and Sir Charles Cotterell, one of the Masters of the Ceremonies, in one of His Majesty's Coaches with all the honours and ceremonies usually observed on the like occasions," &c. * No such sight having been seen in England, for about an hundred and fifty years before, the concourse of people on this occasion was without example: yet their surprize at the pomp and magnificence of the solemnity was surpassed by their indignation to behold a Representative of the Pope in all his Pontificals preceded by a Cross-bearer, and attended by a flock of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders.†

All now proceeded gloriously for the cause in hand, as the Jesuits supposed. The King set forward on his progress, accompanied by his court, his Roman Catholic chaplains, Father Petre, and William Penn the Quaker,—a strange yoking of motley creeds. Who could doubt the liberal sentiments of the royal mind, when such opposite professors were taken into favour? And that he might render himself more popular, he resolved to exercise the gift of touching for the Evil.

It is surprizing to look back, and see how credulous all classes were in the efficacy of this princely prerogative. From St. Edward, the Confessor, to the licentious Charles, the unction of the Royal hand was supposed to convey the power of healing the most

* London Gazette.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 760.

loathsome stumous diseases: the lame and the blind, the impotent and the idiot went forth from the King's presence restored by his sacred touch. We have it on record from one of "His Majesty's Chirurgeons in Ordinary" in a marvellous book, (with a no less marvellous title,* containing a whole alphabet,) that Charles the Second touched above ninety two thousand persons for the Evil, in the course of his reign: the work in fact "carried more of Divinity than Majesty in it; the art of physic was nonplus'd, and Chirurgery tied up; all chirurgeons whatsoever must truckle to the balsamic power; more souls have been healed by His Majesty's sacred hand in one year, than have been cured by all the physicians and chirurgeons of his Three Kingdoms since his happy Restauration!" †

And yet, incredible as this may at first seem, it is capable of a satisfactory solution: for this touching for the evil was attended by all the pomp of circumstance, and made pre-eminently infallible by each of the sick being presented with a gold medal, strung upon a white silk ribbon, and put about his neck by the princely hand. If physicians now-a-days, instead of receiving, were to pay a golden fee to their patients, what crowds of hypocondriacs would beset their doors!

* ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA; or An Anatomick-Chirurgical Treatise of Glandules and Strumæ, or Kings-Evils, Swellings, Together with the *Royal Gift of Healing*, or Cure thereof by Contact or Imposition of Hands, performed for above 640 years by our *Kings of England*, Continued with their admirable effects, and Miraculous Events; and concluded with many wonderful examples of Cures by their Sacred Touch. By John Browne, &c. &c. 8vo. 1684.

† Ibid. Third Book, p. 81.

Such was the loyal desire of the people to behold their Sovereign's person, and to receive the "salutiferous faculty" of the royal touch, and also to touch the gold of his exchequer, that it was often found indispensable to their perfect cure to undergo the pleasing ceremony a second time. Strange to say, many ignorant people made the mistake of "looking more after the gold than the cure:"—nay there was another sort so like "snakes in the grass, that, making it their study to cheat the king of his gold, and having been touched and received the gold, they were ready to sell and part with it; and were not this true, and very commonly put in practice, his majesty's touching medals would not be so frequently seen in goldsmiths' shops."*

When the King intended to exercise the sanative powers inherent in him, public notice was given of the time, which was generally on a Sunday after morning prayer: the physicians and surgeons in ordinary examined the candidates, and delivered out certificates of their being fit objects for healing. At the time appointed, the King "being seated in his royal chair, surrounded by his nobles, and many spectators, the chief yeoman of the guard placed the sick people in a convenient order to avoid noise and confusion;—one of the chaplains now read part of the Gospels, after which the chief surgeon making three obeisances brought each person to the king to be touched; then the Clerk of the Closet, on his knees, delivered to the King the gold medals, ready strung on the white silk ribbon, which the King would put round the neck of the pa-

* Ibid. Third Part, p. 92.

tients. After this, a further part of the chapter of St. John, with some responses and prayers, were read by the chaplain, concluding with the "Grace of our Lord." * This being finished, the Lord Chamberlain and two other nobles presented the King with linen, and the basin and ewer, to wash his hands: and so he took leave of the people, and they "joyfully and thankfully returned home, praising God and their good King. Many of which, as if amazed at the speedy farewell of their diseases, have immediately been cured to admiration, even in the presence, before they have got out of the Banqueting House at Whitehall." This was the usual place of the ceremony, when performed in London: sometimes it was at Windsor; often in the town hall or other public building, even in the church, of the place where the King might be.

The Royal Gift had become a useful engine of state for strengthening the people's attachment and veneration for the person of the King. He appeared, on those occasions, like "the rising sun over his people diffusing his healing rays." Neither the sacred touch, however, nor the royal gold, appear to have had any real influence in mitigating the various frightful symptoms of the disorder — glandula, nodus, lippitudo, bronchocheli, atheroma, steatoma, &c. For "although there hath been scarce a city or town, or scarce a street in this populous city, that hath not found the benefit of his majesty's hand: yet, as if this disease did get a new birth by conversation, it meets the King wherever he goes, with as much vigour and plenty as if the work

* Ibid. Third Part, p. 98.

were now to begin. And as a very strange mark hereof, although I do believe near half the nation hath been touched and healed by his sacred Majesty since his happy restauration, yet upon any new appearance of a fresh healing, they are seen to come in afresh and as fast as if not one had been touched by him: a thing as strange as monstrous! Indeed some having received his Majesty's gracious touch, and losing their gold, their distemper has *de novo* seized them again; and these also, upon gaining a second touch, and *new gold*, their diseases have been seen utterly to have been chased away, and they themselves perfectly cured."*

James, in his progress to the west, reached Bath towards the end of August: notice was given that he would touch for the evil in the Abbey after morning prayer. He found no lack of candidates for the privilege of the royal gift. That all who approached might receive their cure through faith in the Blessed Virgin's intercession, a new form of Prayers for the healing, which had been previously published by authority, was here used. The Bishop was at Wells: hearing of what was going forward, he was in doubt what course he ought to take. He found himself unexpectedly placed in a novel situation. The act of the King in touching for the Evil,—the use of a popish office of prayer, and the great noise and confusion of a concourse of people, violated the sanctity of the Church. Yet it was quite beyond his power to stop the proceeding,—the very attempt would have created an uproar: he chose therefore to yield to the necessity of the mo-

* Ibid. Third Part, pp. 105-6.

ment, rather than hazard a greater confusion in so sacred a place.

But for fear the use of a Roman ritual in the Abbey should be misunderstood, or the opening the church doors for any other offices than those of the Church of England be drawn into precedent, he preached a sermon, the following Sunday, to explain that the object of the service, being one of charity, might qualify the otherwise unseemly act. It is probable this was the sermon which is referred to in the traditionary anecdote, mentioned by Warner. He says, "King James visited Bath in 1687, accompanied also by Huddleston, his confessor. After decorating the altar of the Abbey Church, Huddleston is said to have denounced the heretics, and exhorted them to an immediate change of their errors. Ken was present, and when Huddleston concluded mounted the pulpit, and exposed his fallacies in a strain of such impressive eloquence, as astonished and delighted his congregation, and confounded Huddleston, and the royal bigot."* Mr. Markland† reasonably questions the very improbable fact of Ken being present. Indeed it was next to impossible that the Jesuit should ever have preached in the Abbey at all, though he might have helped to deck the altar on the occasion of touching for the evil. There is another tradition that the Bishop's voice was deep and sonorous, and could be distinctly heard throughout the Abbey. This receives some confirmation from Perkins, the Poet Laureat, who among other enco-

* Warner's Hist. of Bath, p. 257.

† Markland's Life of Ken, 2nd Edit. p. 78.

miums on the "Famous Bishop," says,

"When to the Bath her Royal Highness came,
KENN made the Abbey-Church resound his fame;
 Floods of grave eloquence did from him fall:
KENN in the Pulpit thunder'd like St. *PAUL*." *

He appears to have esteemed it the duty of a Bishop to do nothing of importance without the advice of his Primate: that he might, therefore, be prepared to act with authority, if the same circumstance should ever occur again, he thus writes to the Archbishop.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,

THOUGH I have always been very tender of giving your Grace any trouble, yett I thinke it my duty, having this opportunity of a safe conveyance, to acquaint you with one particular, which happened at Bath, and to begge your advice for the future. When His Majesty was at Bath there was a great healing, and without any warning, unlesse by a flying report: the office was performed in the Church, between the houres of prayer. I had not time to remonstrate, and if I had done it, it would have had no effect, but only to provoke: besides I found it had been done in other churches before, and I know no place but the Church which was

* A Poem (both in English and Latin) on the Death of the Rt. Reverend Father in God, Thomas Kenn, sometime Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, &c. By Mr. Joseph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureat. 4to. 1711.

"Ad Fontes calidos (memini) cum † Filia Regis
 Venerat, Hic ‡ Templum voce § boante replet.
 Eloquii fluxit facundo flumen ab ore:
 In rostris tanquam Paulus et alter erat."

† Her R. H. ‡ The Abbey Church. § Tanquam Boanerges.

capable to receive so great a multitude as came for cure: upon which consideration I was wholly passive. But being well aware what advantage the Romanists take from the least seeming compliances, I took occasion on Sunday from the Gospell, the subject of which was the Samaritan, to discourse of Charity, which I said ought to be the religion of the whole world, wherein Samaritan and Jew were to agree, and though we could not open the Church-doors to a worship different from that we paid to God, yett we should allwayes sett them open to a common worke of Charity, because, in performing mutuall offices of Charity one to another, there ought to be an universall agreement.

“ This was the substance of what I said upon that action, which I humbly submit to your Grace’s Judgment; and it was the best expedient I could thinke of, to prevent giving scandal to our owne people, and to obviate all the misrepresentations the Romanists might make of such a connivance. I am very sensible of your Grace’s burthen, and doe beseech Almighty Goodnesse to support you under it. And I earnestly crave your Blessing, being ambitious of nothing more than to be one of the meanest of your Companions in your Kingdom and Patience of Jesus.

“ My good Lord,
Your Grace’s most obedient Son and
humble Servant,

“ Aug. 26th, 1687.*” THO. BATH AND WELLS.”

We see in this letter the courageous spirit of a pri-

* Bodleian Tanner MSS. Vol. xxix. p. 65.

mitive Bishop, deeply concerned for all under his care, unceasingly watchful and active, yet without noise; guided by a holy prudence, while sensitive to any misconstruction that might wound the integrity of the Church, now put in peril by the highest authority of the land.

Here may be appropriately noticed two other letters of Ken, addressed a short time after to Archbishop Sancroft; one dated the 1st of October 1687, in which he says "Many of the Cures in my Diocese are so very small, that I am very glad to gett a sober person to supply them, though he is not a Graduate; but as for Ordinations, Your Grace may be assured that I endeavour all I can to lay hands suddenly on no man. I am very sensible of the charitable opinion you are pleased to have of me, and the favourable construction you make of my actions: God grant I may in some measure answer your Grace's just expectations. I beseech God of His infinite goodnesse, and in mercy to His poore Church, to give you a super-effluence of His H. Spirit, to assist and support you, and I humbly begge your benediction."*

The other letter, dated 5th December 1687, is a meek apology to the Archbishop for having incurred his displeasure about some paper, which had not been returned to him.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,
"THE entire veneration I have ever had for your Grace makes your displeasure the more afflicting, espe-

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 39.

cially so great a displeasure against me, as your letter expresses, and that too for such a crime which I abhorre, no less than insincere dealing, and in the whole, I am so unhappy as to be supposed guilty by your Grace, and to be treated by you as if I were. But I hope your Grace will have that charity for me, to believe me when I with all humble submission acquaint you, that I never had the originall you mention. And if I had had it, I know not the least temptation imaginable I could have had to have detained it. The onely copy I had I have sent, and I thought it was the same you meant, having, as I understood your letter, lost the other : and I sent it through the Bishop of Ely, because I was tender of giving you the trouble of a letter which might be spared, and I sent it with a particular circumstance of duty to your Grace, that my old friend must needs be very forgetfull, if he gave no better account who it was that brought it, or how it came to his hands. I confesse I should have sent your paper sooner, and so I had done, had not the persons with whome my secretary was to transact businesse disappointed us, and this, if it be a fault, I presume is a venial one. But how much soever assured I am of my owne innocence, rather than tyre you with a tedious vindication of my selfe, I choose to begge your pardon, as well as your benediction.

“ My good Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient Son and Servant,

“ December 5th, 1687.” THO. BATH AND WELLS.*

* Round. p, 40.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The King perseveres in his measures for the establishment of Romanism—Ken's sermon at Whitehall, for which he is reproved by James—His firm reply.



THE year 1688 dawned upon England as the morning of an eventful struggle. Just a century before, Philip of Spain had threatened the religion and liberties of England. But how different then was the spirit of the sovereign. Elizabeth, devoted to the honour and interests of the Kingdom, and zealous for the Reformed faith, riding in state to review her armies at Tilbury, roused all classes to the highest pitch of loyalty and patriotism. James, on the other hand, a pensioner of France, resolving to extirpate, as an obstinate heresy, the religion in which he had been brought up, and to bend his people to an arbitrary government, encamped his army on Hounslow Heath, that he might over-awe them into an unwilling obedience.

The same brave and vigorous spirit animated the gentlemen, the clergy, and the people of England at each crisis. It is no vain boast that in our complex system the character of the English gentry moulds and governs society. Whatever violates the spirit of it offends the public mind. The Prince himself may not deviate from it ;—the lower classes know how to appreciate it in those who are above them, and confess to its

influence ;—the aristocracy, as a class, are its best exemplars. It is true, indeed, that in every rank of life we have many shades of evil: in all nations the depraved will, the selfishness of the human heart, the deadening power of indulgence, exercise a fearful sway. Still,—the character of the English Gentleman is a national character: it cannot be defined,—it forms the standard which all aspire to, the claim that every man of birth or property asserts, and the denial of which touches him most nearly.

Again, throughout the land, whether we regard rank, wealth, education, reach of intellect, purity of life, enlarged charity, the spirit of forbearance, the noiseless tenour of a Christian course, devoted loyalty, consistent patriotism,—it will be found that the Church of England (in its close union of Clergy and Laity) is the sanctuary of England, the poor man's refuge,—the rich man's security, the *Ægis* of the throne. To all this James was utterly insensible: his every measure was opposed to the vigorous good sense that characterized his people. He was completely under the dominion of a flock of foreign priests and Jesuits, who vied with each other in driving him forward to a pure despotism, as the surest means of establishing a Popish rule.

At this period it was that Ken, once more, and for the last time, was appointed to preach the Lent sermon. It seems strange that one so constant to the interests of the Anglican Church, so brave in her defence, so uncompromising in the exercise of the pastoral liberty, so unlikely to flatter, or to spare, should be permitted, at such a crisis, to denounce the errors of the Court re-

ligion, even within the King's Chapel. He came to London, that he might take his prescribed duty on "Passion Sunday," the 1st of April 1688.

The knowledge that he was to be the Preacher drew together a vast concourse of persons, eager in this moment of excitement to hear the most eloquent of men, who would be sure to make a bold stand for the rights of the Church. Fearful accounts had come over of the despotism established in Ireland by the new Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnel. We may form some judgment of this from the reckless measures to which he instigated the Irish Parliament in the following year, when they passed an Act to attain two Archbishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Countesses, eighteen Barons, thirty-three Baronets, fifty-one Knights, eighty-three Clergymen, two thousand and eighty-two Esquires and Gentlemen;—all of them without a hearing adjudged guilty of high treason, and declared worthy to suffer the pains of forfeiture and death.* The King already seemed prepared for the same measures in Ireland, as Louis had perpetrated towards the Huguenots in France. He soon afterwards employed those two French barbarians, Rosen and Mammo, who had dragooned the Protestants of Languedoc, and afterwards commanded the massacres before Derry.

Every faithful pastor, therefore, was bound to witness for the truth of the Anglican Church,—to run all risks, that he might keep the people steadfast to their

* The State of the Protestants of Ireland, under the late King James's Government. By Dr. William King, Archbishop of Dublin.—4to. 3rd Edition, 1691.

faith. Ken could not be indifferent or passive in such an emergency : he might be responsible, in his measure, for the ruin of all he held most dear, if he abstained from explicitly warning his hearers of the present danger. His part was not to preach up rebellion against the royal authority, but to inculcate steadfastness, and penitence for the public sins, which had called down the present judgments upon the nation. The scene in the Chapel at Whitehall on this occasion was an extraordinary one. "The Morning Sermon was preached by Dr. Stillingfleet, on the 10th Luke, 41, 42. The Holy Communion followed ; but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes, *zealous to hear the second sermon to be preached* (in the afternoon service) *by the Bishop of Bath and Wells*, that the latter part of that Holy Office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble."* The doors of the Chapel were not closed between the services, owing to the crowds who pressed in before the time to secure seats. At length the Princess Ann, with her attendants, having at the appointed hour taken her place in the Royal Gallery, on the left hand of the King's Chair, which was empty, and the prayers being ended, the Bishop went up into the pulpit. "He preached on 7th Micah, 8. 9. 10,† describing the calamity of the Reformed Church of Judah under the

* Evelyn's Diary, Vol. i. p. 647.

† "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy ; when I fall, I shall arise ; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my cause, and execute judgement for me : He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His Righteousness."

Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her, on her repentance ; that, as Judah emerged, so should the now Reform'd Church, however insulted and persecuted. *He preach'd with his accustomed action, zeal, and energy ; so that people flock'd from all quarters to hear him.*"*

The principal points of his discourse were the sins of the "Reformed Church of Judah,"—her permitted sufferings under the Babylonish captivity ; the reproachful joy of the Edomites at her desolation ; her repentance under this visitation ; her patient submission, and confidence that God would one day plead her cause ; the judgments executed on Belshazzar, and his idolatrous Court ; the punishment inflicted on the apostate Edomites, by the hands of the very Babylonians, whom they had encouraged and assisted against her ;—the deliverance of Judah from her captivity ; and lastly her joy in being brought by God to his true light, and permitted to behold His righteousness, which made penitent, patient, Reformed Judah not only victorious, but triumphant.

Under the figure of Reformed Judah was represented the Church of England ; the Babylonians were the Romanists, the Edomites the Dissenters : the national sins of Judah,—her calamities under the yoke of her enemies,—her repentance and submission,—her deliverance and triumph, are held out to "Protestant Reformed England" as her warning, her instruction, and her consolation.

The Bishop was not unconscious of the dangers at-

* Evelyn's Diary, Vol. i. p. 647.

tendant on the subject he had chosen. The King had peremptorily forbid the clergy to preach on the controversies of the day : he was at that moment attending mass in another part of the palace ; but would be sure to hear of all that passed. Nevertheless Ken had a duty to discharge, higher than to any earthly authority, and though it had been at the hazard of his life, he dared not shrink from it.

He opens at once on the meaning and scope of the text. "Every one that hears this passage of Scripture will soon perceive what the Prophet intends, namely a representation of the Church of Judah under the Babylonish Captivity." He then shows how the Prophets of old were wont to declare boldly the counsels of God, and alludes to the absence of the King, which exposed the preacher to the risk of having his words misrepresented. "As the Prophet," he says, "directed his discourse to the Church, to the Reformed Church in general, so he applied himself to all degrees of men in particular. He preach'd not only to the people, and to the priests, but to the Court ; 'to the heads of the House of Jacob, and to the Princes of the House of Israel :' nay, to King Hezekiah himself ; in whose presence he delivered that direful prophecy, warning the king and the court of the danger they would certainly bring down, unless prevented by a national repentance."

"It was a bold undertaking to denounce God's judgments to the king, and to the court ; and to tell them that the king's palace, and the whole city of Jerusalem, should be utterly destroyed : such mortifying subjects as these courts, above all others, are not willing to hear of. But true Prophets, in the delivery of their mes-

sages, fear none but God, and dare say anything that God commands them. And there are times when Prophets cannot, must not, keep silence; when the watchmen ought to blow the trumpet, to give the warning of repentance to the whole land; or if the land will not take the warning, to free their own souls."

"Amos was originally neither Prophet nor Prophet's son, but a poor herdsman of Tekoa;* yet when God sent him, he had courage from above to prophesy against Israel, against King Jeroboam, and against the worship of the Calves; to prophesy terrible things, even at Bethel, which was the King's chapel, and the King's court; and to prophesy in spite of Amaziah, the Priest of Bethel, who falsely accused him to Jeroboam for 'conspiring against him;' adding 'that the land was not able to bear all his words:' as if a true zeal for God had been rebellion against the King."

Speaking of the Prophet, whose words wrought so successfully on Hezekiah, he says, "happy was it for the King that he so devoutly attended to the Prophet: happy was it for the Prophet that he had the opportunity of preaching to the King himself. Had he preached these severe, though necessary, truths in another congregation, where a sort of men, such as the Psalmist complains of, came on purpose to wrest his words, and with thoughts against him for evil, *what tragical relations had been made of his sermon!* But the Prophet was safe under the king's gracious protection, and in having the king himself for his auditor,

* This is in reference to his own elevation from a humble station to the Episcopal chair.

who being like an angel of God, liked the preacher the better for the conscientious discharge of his prophetick duty."

After describing the Babylonians as cruel and merciless; a bitter and a hasty nation, very heavily laying their yoke on God's people, he proceeds; "I need say no more of them than this, that St. John, when he was to draw a prophetick description of the great Antichrist under the Gospel, was directed by the Spirit of God to make Babylon the type, and to paint scriptural Babylon in the colours of the temporal; as if no nation under heaven were infamous and wicked enough to furnish him with idolatry and pride, and uncleanness, and covetousness, and cruelty, and impiety in full perfection, fit to resemble the Man of Sin, but only the Babylonian."

Of the Edomites, he says, "They were the children of Esau, and originally of the same blood, and of the same religion with Judah, though they revolted from the Church of God; and those seemed to have derived from Esau, their father, his perverseness, which he remarkably show'd to his aged mother; insomuch that Josephus gives them this character, that they were a turbulent and unruly nation, always prone to commotions, and rejoicing in changes." But their animosity against Judah seemed to be hereditary; the loss of the birth-right, and of the blessing in their father, entail'd revenge on all his posterity. And they were all along the natural enemies of the children of Jacob. And when they saw Judah assaulted by the Babylonians, they sided with Judah's enemies, and thirsted to have a share in the destruction of God's Church. Such were the

enemies of afflicted Judah ; and God in his just indignation against Judah's sins, gave both these enemies their desir'd success ; success that was able to satiate the most impetuous and revengeful cruelty."

" Rejoice not, O ye Edomites ; for in insulting over me, ye insult over your own miseries, as well as mine. Our God has commanded the Jew not to abhor an Edomite, for he is his brother. Why should not this command be mutually observed on both sides ? Why should the Edomite abhor his brother Jew ? If both sides had been to blame, why should not their common danger have reconciled them ? Ah ! had Judah and Edom reviv'd that brotherly affection which, before the loss of the birth-right, harbour'd in the breasts of their fathers, Jacob and Esau ; *had they both join'd* for the common safety against the Babylonian, the common enemy, humanly speaking, both might have preserv'd their liberty : but Edom will be an easy prey to the Babylonian, now her neighbour Judah is led captive. Rejoice not, then, against captive Judah ; since every wound you give to Judah makes Edom bleed."

He exhibits great copiousness of invention in describing the faith of penitent Judah in God's tenderness and mercy, though His countenance seem'd to be withdrawn from them. " Nor was Judah," he says, " only confident of deliverance, but of support also in the meantime : ' when I sit in darkness, the Lord will be a light unto me ! ' and this confidence was grounded on the usual conduct of propitious Providence. For in Micah, and the rest of the Prophets, when God denounces judgements against his people, his threats are intermingled with promises of blessings, either temporal

or evangelical. Well, then, might penitent Judah say, 'when I sit in darkness the Lord will be a light unto me.' When I am depriv'd of all the comforts of life, abandon'd by all worldly succours; * when God himself seems to desert me, and suffer me to lie 70 years together in a vexatious captivity; when God seems 'to cover himself with a cloud, that my prayer should not pass through;' then will the Lord be a light unto me; at midnight I shall see a clear sunshine. In the multitude of the sorrows I shall then have in my heart, God's comforts shall refresh my soul. My insulting enemies hinder my other friends, but cannot hinder God, who is my best friend, from visiting me. When poor, captive, exile, penitent Judah, lies chain'd in a Babylonish dungeon, dark as hell; yet the rays of the divine benignity can pierce through the thickest darkness, to enlighten and revive me. My chains will then be more eligible than liberty; Babylon will make me forget Sion. My very dungeon will be heaven upon earth, † when I enjoy God there. No sad thought shall arise, but I can take sanctuary in one of his gracious promises, which shall instantly dispel it. If this be captivity, by becoming a Babylonish slave to become the Lord's freeman, O may my captivity last not seventy, but seventy times seven years. No time, O

* This passage is applicable to himself in the after period of his life, when he was deprived of his Bishoprick.

† "Heav'n is, dear Lord, where'er Thou art,
O never then from me depart;
For to my soul 'tis Hell to be,
But for one moment, without Thee."

KEN's Morning Hymn.

Lord, is long; eternity itself is not tedious, that is spent in thy fruition. O Almighty Goodness, thou only canst make captivity desirable : welcome, then, darkness; there will I sit, desiring to see no light but what comes from thy countenance ; for thou art light, and liberty, and joy, and all in all to those who, for thy sake, are content for awhile to sit in darkness.”

In this simple faith, he exhorts the Church to patience, and non-resistance, waiting till the Lord should plead the cause of His Church. “ God commanded Judah to serve the King of Babylon ; and assur’d them, that if they serv’d him, they should live. And they were to ‘ pray for the peace of that city ; that in the peace thereof they might have peace.’ So that all Judah was enjoin’d by God patient submission to that king. They were to subject their persons to the Babylonish government, but not to prostitute their consciences to the Babylonish idolatry, whensoever the commands of God, and of the king of Babylon, stood in competition. To have then obey’d the king had not been allegiance, but apostacy. In such cases the true Israelites would always be martyrs, but never rebels ; they resolutely chose to obey God, and patiently to suffer the lions’ den, the fiery furnace, and the extremity of the king’s displeasure.”

It would be difficult to find in our language a finer specimen of bold, empassioned eloquence than his rapid description of the punishment that fell on the Babylonians, when the time was come for Judah’s deliverance. “ The Judgment God executed for his people was in all circumstances most remarkable. For vengeance surpriz’d Babylon, when the great Belshazzar, and his

court and his concubines, were gorging themselves at a luxurious, idolatrous feast; 'drinking themselves drunk' in the vessels of the Temple, and wallowing in their own loathsome vomits. It was then the King saw the fatal hand-writing on the wall; 'at which his countenance fell, and his thoughts troubled him, and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.' Then it was, in the depth of their security, in the dead of the night, that Belshazzar was slain, the city was taken, and Darius seized the kingdom. The Babylonians were destroyed in the midst of a debauch; in the height of their impiety they all went drunk to Hell, and their souls and bodies perish'd both together."

Then follows a glowing description of Judah's providential release from her captivity: "Hitherto she endur'd a long night of affliction, with some lightsome gleams only to refresh her: now God takes her up out of the dungeon, and brings her to open day: and He brings her out, without any of her own contrivance, or endeavour; without anything on her part, but repentance and patient submission; and on a sudden, to convince all the world it was His own work, it was the Lord, it was only the Lord, who at the expiration of 70 years, stirr'd up the spirit of Cyrus, to make that transporting, that surprising decree for building the Temple, and for the restoration of captive Judah. Then was she brought forth to the light in full splendour; the dawns of which, all along, were to the faithful Israelites the solace of their captivity, and in all their cheerful intervals the subject of their songs; when they took down their harps from the willows,

and by the waters of Babylon strove, with the descriptions of future Sion, to forget the past."

She saw herself happy, and her God most just, benign and merciful; and her happiness being founded on affliction, she relished it the better; she did the better taste and see that the Lord was gracious; she experimentally felt, and confess'd, and lov'd, and ador'd 'the righteousness of God,' which made penitent, patient Judah not only victorious but triumphant. She rode in triumph over the once insulting Babylon; in triumph, the most illustrious that ever was; in triumph, such as the good angels kept above, at the defeat of Lucifer and his apostate spirits, when they saw the accursed rebels falling headlong from Heaven, down to the place of endless torments, and heard them shrieking and howling all the way they fell; and the loyal host, in the mean time, full of the mighty joys of victory, exulted in the just damnation of the rebellious legions, and sang triumphant hymns to the Lord of Hosts, by whose Arm they had been conquerors. For thus the faithful triumphed over Babylon: 'how art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!' So certain was the victory, so glorious was the triumph, with which penitent patient Judah was honour'd by God, who was her most tender advocate, to plead her cause; her most just avenger, to execute judgment for her; her most mighty deliverer, to bring her forth to the light; and her most indulgent patron, to make her behold His righteousness."

His hearers could not but apply to the Romanists and Dissenters this vivid description of the Babylonians and Edomites, to whom God, in His just indig-

nation against Judah's sins, gave the power of a long oppression. Ken, however, did not mean the application to be made to them, other than as a warning to all classes, lest, indentifying themselves with such persecutors, they should partake of the judgments that were to follow. "Hitherto," he says, "I have only insisted on the case of Judah. And in making the application (*since we have not that happiness which Micah had, to have the King himself for our auditor, in whose royal candour a faithful preacher might be secure*) to prevent all misrepresentations, by which the most innocent discourse, and the very Scripture itself, may by insidious men be perverted, and charged with odious insinuations, I beseech you to observe that, as to Babylon, it lies in St. John's Visions under so many detestable characters; the Prophecies concerning it are so obscure, and the interpretations of them are so various, some of them so uncertain, some of them so forc'd, that I confess they are abstrusenesses, which I do not sufficiently understand, and therefore forbear particularly to apply.

"As to Edom: their father Esau is made, in the New Testament, the idea of a prophane person, of an apostate, of one hated by God, and of a reprobate: and God forbid I should bestow such names as these, on any one Communion of Christians whatsoever. But if we meet with any such in the world, who professing christianity in words, do so far deny it in their works, as to reach those characters which the scripture gives of Babylon and Edom; we are to deplore them, to pray to God to turn their hearts, and to warn all people to come out from thence, that they be not partakers of

their sins, and that they receive not of their plagues. And whenever such enemies as these attempt the ruin of God's Church, our Saviour has taught His followers how to encounter them. 'Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.' St. John has taught all christians how to overcome them; 'by the blood of the Lamb, by the word of their testimony, and by not loving their lives even unto death.' Judah has taught all the faithful how to weather out a captivity under them, by repentance and patient submission. And my design in this discourse is, from penitent, patient, *Reform'd Judah*, to draw an example for the *Reform'd Church of England* to imitate, as far as their conditions may in any way agree." "In a word, I earnestly exhort you to a uniform zeal for the REFORMATION, that as, blessed be God, you are happily reform'd in your Faith, and in your worship, you would become wholly reform'd in your lives. From such a reformation as this, we may confidently hope for a blessing: and whatsoever enemies our Church may at any time have; should they be as insulting as the Babylonian, or as revengeful as the Edomite; nay should they for a while be never so successful, yet penitent, patient REFORM'D ENGLAND may then say with penitent, patient reform'd Judah; 'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall I shall rise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him; until He plead my cause and execute judgment for me. He

will bring me forth to the light ; and I shall behold His Righteousness."

The Court rang with comments on this memorable sermon : Ken had foretold, too truly, that he would be charged by "insidious men" with personally reproaching the King. The deep and tender concern he expressed for the Reformation, and his fervid calls to a holy dread and awe of the national sins, were so many emphatic reflections on the enemies of the public peace : they made "tragical relations" to the royal ear of these "necessary though severe truths." It appears from Hawkins's account that, "although many of his sermons were framed against the Church of Rome, the King so far entertained hopes of his absolute obedience to his will and pleasure, that it was thought worth while to attempt to gain him over to that party at court. But so ineffectually, that upon the preaching of this sermon in the King's own chapel at Whitehall (which seems wholly intended against both the Popish and Fanatic factions, then united at court) and it being misrepresented to the King, who had not been present at divine service, but sending for the Bishop, and closeting him on the occasion, received nothing in answer but this fatherly reprimand, '*that if His Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him.*' Whereupon he was dismissed." *

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 18.

CHAPTER XIX.

The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Order of Council to have it read in all Churches—Petition of Archbishop Sancroft, Ken, and five other Bishops against the Order. They are sent to the Tower.

THE sermon at Whitehall must have been so obnoxious to the King, that Ken could hardly expect to escape with impunity. No doubt he was dismissed from the presence with strong expressions of resentment; most probably with some threat that means would be found to silence the Clergy, and bring them to obedience. Such indeed had been already determined on. For on the 28th of the same month the King made a fresh Declaration for liberty of conscience. This State paper is drawn with considerable skill. It sets out with an intimation that the King was resolved to be obeyed: "our conduct has been such at all times as ought to have persuaded the world that we are firm and constant in our resolutions: yet, that easy people may not be abus'd by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare that our intentions are not changed." It states that it had been his principal care to secure the benefits of Indulgence to all his subjects, who had testified by multitudes of addresses their satisfaction and duty: that liberty of conscience would be a public be-

nefit to future ages, and for the general good of the whole kingdom : that offices and employments of the state ought to be the reward of services, fidelity and merit, not subject to Oaths and Tests, as must be apparent to all who felt concerned in the encrease of the wealth and power of these kingdoms, which above all others are most capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world : that the late changes both of civil and military officers were for the purpose of establishing the peace and greatness of the country, as all unbiass'd men might see by the condition of the fleet and armies, which should be constantly the same, and greater, if the safety and honour of the nation required it : that he had been during the three years of his reign the Father of his people, not their oppressor : and it concludes by urging all to lay aside private animosities and jealousies, and to choose such members of Parliament as would do their parts for the advantage of the monarchy, promising to call them together in November next at farthest.

To give the fullest publicity to this Proclamation, and to show that he was resolved to carry out the measure, an order of Council was made on the 4th of May, directing the Bishops to have it sent to their respective Dioceses, and read in every church and chapel throughout the kingdom. This order appears to have excited more surprise and opposition than the Declaration itself. Yet it was not so great a stretch of prerogative ; for the authority of the crown to have its Proclamations read from the pulpit appears to have been, and still is, recognized. It had been obeyed several times by San-

croft himself in the late reign ;* and appears to be provided for in the Act of Uniformity, prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer. But in this case acquiescence would have given the sanction of the Clergy to an illegal act, which the Indulgence clearly was. The Bishops at once perceived that it was not only levelled against the Church, but was intended to mortify them, and degrade them in the public esteem: their concurrence would make them parties to an act that would be construed into their sanction of the Indulgence, and must have paved the way to further encroachments.

But more than this, and apart from all political considerations of prudence, and legal security, they thought that to publish during divine service, what they conscientiously believed to be a toleration of error, would be contrary to the interests of religion: to proclaim in the public assemblies of the Church the lawfulness of schism would in their judgment violate the principle of unity: to justify by an episcopal act the setting up of Papal and Presbyterian worship against the altar of the true Church, would violate its sanctity, and compromise their clear duty. Archbishop Sancroft, whose courage and zeal were equal to the emergency which now threatened the Church, was at once disposed to make a stand: he held many consultations with the Bishops who were near at hand, and several of the most distinguished of the London clergy, in order to ascertain the general feeling. By their advice a circular was sent to the absent Prelates, inviting them to attend at Lambeth.

Ken, who had, as usual, returned to his Diocese as

* Kenneth, Vol. iii. pp. 388, 408, and Echard.

soon as his duty in London had been performed, received the following letter from the Archbishop.

“ My Lord,

THIS is only in my own name, and in the name of some of our Brethren, now here upon the place, earnestly to desire you, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, to come hither with what convenient speed you can, not taking notice to any that you are sent for. Wishing you a prosperous journey, and us all a happy meeting, I remain

Your very loving brother,

WILLIAM CANTUAR.”

He came at once to London, and arrived on the evening of the 17th of May, with his friend Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol. On the following morning a general meeting was held at Lambeth Palace. They began by invoking the Divine aid to guide and influence their deliberations. Seldom, if ever, since the Reformation had there been a more critical moment for the Church of England : moderate counsels, combined with a collected energy of action, could alone avert the danger. The Bishops considered that they were entitled to offer advice to the Crown in all matters purely ecclesiastical.* In the present instance the exercise of their privilege was bound upon them by the duty they owed to their flocks ; for the natural defenders of the honour and dignity of the Church, were now commanded to strike a blow against her dearest interests. They resolved, therefore, to make a humble appeal to the King by Petition,

* Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, Vol. i. p. 364.

couched in the most respectful terms of duty and attachment. They declared that in a matter of such great moment and consequence to the whole nation, they could not in prudence, honour, or conscience so far make themselves parties to His Majesty's Declaration of indulgence, as to publish it in God's house, and in the time of divine service ; therefore they humbly and earnestly besought him not to insist upon their doing so.

The Bishops were unanimously agreed that they should take on themselves the exclusive responsibility of whatever might happen, so that others might be clear of an act which would, in all probability, expose them to the King's resentment. The Petition was drawn up in the handwriting of the Archbishop, to secure the utmost secrecy, and was signed by himself and all the Bishops present, except Compton, who had been suspended. These were

St. Asaph - - Lloyd.	Chichester - Lake.
Ely - - - - Turner.	Bristol - - Trelawney.
Bath and Wells - Ken.	Peterborough - White.

They had no time to lose, as the Declaration was to be read in the London Churches the next day but one ; so they resolved immediately to present the paper in person to the King : but the Archbishop, being forbid to appear at Court, was not to accompany the other six.

It was a moment of deep and solemn interest, when these courageous men passed over the river in the Archbishop's barge from Lambeth to Whitehall. Only the measured sound of the oars was heard : all around them was hushed into silence ; for it was now ten o'clock at night. The inhabitants of the town, unconscious of

the impending struggle for their dearest rights, had gone to rest. As they landed at Whitehall stairs, none were to be seen but the sentinels at their post. The King, having been informed by Lord Sunderland that they requested an audience, gave orders that they should be immediately admitted into his Closet. "He took them into the room within the bed chamber," where the Bishop of St. Asaph, with the rest, all upon their knees, delivered the Petition.

The King at first received them graciously, and opening the Petition, said, "This is my Lord of Canterbury's own hand." As soon, however, as he had read it over, he folded it up, and said, "This is a great surprize to me: here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion."—His own account is that "The King was much startled at this address, and told them that tho' he had heard of their design, he did not believe it; nor did he expect such usage from the Church of England, especially from some of the Petitioners; that he had the charity for most of them to think they were not sensible of the harme they did, him and themselves, but that they had been imposed upon by ill men, who designed his and their ruin; that it was a sounding of Sheba's trumpet, and that the seditious preachings of the Puritans in the year '40 was not of so ill consequence as this; that they had rais'd a devil they could not lay, and that when it was too late they would see their error, and would be the first that would repent it."*

* "Memoirs writ by his own hand." Clarke's Life of James II. Vol. i. p. 155.

The Bishops of St. Asaph, and some of the rest, replied, that they had adventured their lives for His Majesty, and would not shed the last drop of their blood, rather than be in a power against him.

The King said, you this is the standard of rebellion. I never saw such an answer.

James I. said, Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us which you allow to all mankind.

The King smiling upon the tendency of the Petition to rebellion, said he would have his Declaration published.

James I. said, We are bound to fear God, and honour the King. We desire to do both: we will honour God, we must fear God.

The King is thus when I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it? I will remember you that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper. I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

James I. said, God's will be done.

The King, What's that?

James I. said, God's will be done.—And so said the Bishop of Peterborough.

The King, If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are 7000 men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.

And so they were dismissed.

The few significant words of Ken ought to have convinced James that nothing could shake the resolu-

tion of men, who told him to his face that the fear of God was a higher duty than honour to kings. But he "gave a worse interpretation to their resistance, than that it was merely scruple of conscience: he thought that, finding the people disposed to follow the cry they heard from the altar, and that they could whistle up the winds, they were resolved to raise a storm, though they seemingly pretended to lay it."* This motive was imputed to them by the bigotry of his counsellors, and by false friends, who urged him on to dangerous measures for the purpose of alienating from him the mind of the nation: "sycophants," as he calls them, "who covered his eyes from the light." He says, himself, "according to human prudence his Majesty had done better in not forcing some wheels, when he found the whole machine stop; but his too great attention to what he thought just and reasonable hinder'd him from reflecting on what (to be sure) had been more safe, as the case then stood; but it was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous counsels, with intent (as was suspected) to widen the breach, and therefore encouraged his persisting in those ways, which he might have seen would not go down with the multitude."† What added to his pertinacity was the persuasion that nothing had proved more injurious to his brother, and especially to his father Charles I. than their yielding temper; and as the Petition had only

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James 2nd, vol. ii. p. 156.

† Ibid.

been signed by seven of the Bishops, he did not imagine the others would refuse compliance.

The next morning the fact of the Bishops having waited upon the King was spread abroad. As usual, many versions of the story being given, great excitement prevailed in the town. There was a general feeling of sympathy with the Prelates, whose conduct was highly applauded. They appeared venerable in the eyes of all men as brave champions of the Church. On the following Sunday, when the Declaration was read in a very few of the Churches, the people with one accord rose from their seats. In the Abbey nobody could hear it for the great murmur which arose, and before it was finished no one was left in the choir but a few prebendaries, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. Within a few days, six more of the Bishops, and many of the most distinguished clergy, expressed to the Archbishop in writing their concurrence in the Petition.

The King now seemed in doubt what steps to take. The advice of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, and other violent men, prevailed. On the 27th the Bishops received notice to appear before the Council on the 8th of June, to answer for a misdemeanour in publishing a libel on the King. The intermediate time was now spent in consultations, among themselves and friends, at Lambeth as to the course they ought to pursue. Lord Clarendon, in his Diary, says, "On the evening of the 5th of June the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were with me: I advised them to consult with the best lawyers how to behave themselves at the Council board; that the time drew near; and that they should not come unprepared to answer any ques-

tions that might be asked them upon their Petition." "The next day, in the evening, the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and St. Asaph, were with me, and desired to borrow some Parliamentary Journals, which they thought might be useful to them, and which I lent them." Again: "On the seventh, in the evening, the Bishops were with me, and told me they had taken advice with the best counsel, and hoped they should have good success to-morrow. I asked them if they had well considered what to do or say, in case they should be required to find bail for their further appearance (for such a thing was whispered) and found they had not, whereupon I earnestly pressed them to go this very evening, and advise with Sir Robert Sawyer, who could best instruct them what power the Council board now had; and so they left me, resolving to go presently to him."*

"On Friday, June 8th, at 5 in the afternoon, the King came to the Privy Council. About half an hour after, the Archbishop and the six Bishops, who were in attendance in the next room, were called into the Council Chamber, and graciously received by his Majesty. On being asked if the Petition was written and signed by his Grace, the Archbishop answered: "Sir, I am called hither as a criminal, which I never was before in my life; and little thought I ever should be, especially before your Majesty: but since it is my unhappiness to be so at this time, I hope your Majesty will not be offended that I am cautious of answering questions. No man is obliged to answer questions that

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 175.

may tend to the accusing of himself." * " Thereupon they were ordered to withdraw ; and being called in a second time, they made the same answer to the same question : but at the third coming in, the Chancellor pressing them to own or disown the paper, the Archbishop confessed that it was written with his own hand ; and the rest acknowledged that they had signed it, adding withal that they had done nothing but what they were ready to justify.† They were then asked if any others were present at the framing of it. To which they answered : " It is our great infelicity that we are here as criminals ; and your Majesty is so just and generous, that you will not require us to accuse either ourselves or others."‡ " The Lord Chancellor fell into anger and reproaches, and pretended to endeavour to make them sensible of the ill consequences of their disobedience, which tended to diminish the King's authority, and to disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and then at last asked them whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the Court of King's Bench to answer their high misdemeanour ? This they all refused to do, insisting on the privilege of their Peerage, which they were resolved to maintain, as well as the rights of the Church ; being equally bound by their callings to oppose all innovations, both in government and religion. This bold answer put the whole Council into some amazement ; and the Chancellor Jefferies threatened to send them to the Tower, unless they did

* Doyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 275.

† Kennet, vol. 3, p. 511.

‡ Doyly, vol. i. p. 274.

immediately recant and withdraw their Petition. They unanimously answered, that they were ready to go whithersoever his Majesty would please to send them; they hoped the King of kings would be their protector and their judge: they feared nothing from men; for, having acted according to law and their own consciences, no punishment should ever be able to shake their resolutions." *

They were urged again and again, then ordered to retire, and once more brought in before the Council. They promised to appear at any time to answer to the charge, but refused to give bail, insisting that there was no precedent for it, that any member of the House of Peers should be bound in recognizance for a misdemeanour.† The last time they went in "they found the King vanish'd, and Jefferies in the chair, who used them very roughly."‡ They were ordered once more to withdraw. At last, being all resolved, a Serjeant-at-Arms came out to them from the Council with a warrant signed with 14 hands, to carry the Prelates to the Tower, and another warrant signed by 19, and seals annexed, addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower to keep them in safe custody. At the same time an Order in Council was made, directing the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals to prosecute them.§

Whilst this scene was acting within, the greatest excitement prevailed amongst the crowds of people who

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 512.

† Doyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 285.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 763, On the authority of the Bishop of Durham.

§ Doyly, vol. i. p. 285.

waited without the Palace. These looked on the Bishops as the great assertors of liberty, and martyrs for their religion. The many times they were recalled to the Council, and urged to give bail for their appearance, showed how anxious the King was to avoid the extreme measure of sending them to the Tower. In his memoirs, he imputes to them a desire to force him to their imprisonment, and says he would have taken their word for their appearance,—but they refused: * whereas the Archbishop expressed their readiness to appear, without recognizance, at any time they were called upon.† Some three years afterwards, in a letter to Lloyd of Norwich, complaining of a pamphlet of that day, which charged them with standing on niceties, Sancroft says: “We profer’d y^e K^s our words, as honest men, and Christians, and Churchmen, to appear to his prosecution, whenever he should assign us a day; but the Council insisted upon it that we should enter a recognizance to that purpose; To which, when we answered that our counsell advis’d us (and indeed divers of y^e Peers had also privately warn’d us) by no means to doe it, for that would be to betray y^e privilege of y^e peerage, and thereupon besought the King y^t he would take our words, w^h he could not think we would falsify to noe purpose at all,—we were commanded to withdraw, and soon after a messenger came out with a warrant to carry us to y^e Tower.” ‡

* Clarke’s *Life of James 2nd*; vol. ii. p. 159.

† Doyly, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ MSS. Collection of Letters in the possession of Dr. Williams, Warden of New College, Oxford.

To prevent the tumult that might be occasioned by their passage to the Tower through the streets, they were ordered to be sent away by water. The populace finding out this project, went round to the river side, and testified by their acclamations the most lively interest in their fate, and even on their knees begged a parting blessing. The same concern was expressed, as the barge arrived at the Tower wharf. Here again a great crowd was assembled to receive them : they were no sooner landed than most of the officers and soldiers fell on their knees to beg their blessing.*

Hume gives a most graphic description of the scene : "The people were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed ; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the Church brought from Court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels, on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once ; and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were ap-

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 512.

pointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly in those blessings, which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The Bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour by the most lowly submissive deportment; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure.”*

The second lesson, appointed by the Calendar for that evening's service, was so applicable to their circumstances that it was looked upon by the people as providential, to sustain their courage; being 2 Cor. vi. “We then as workers together with Him, beseech you, &c. that in all things ye approve yourselves as the Ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings,” &c. &c. These words, no doubt, imparted to the prisoners a higher assurance of support than any sympathy of the people. They had their consolation from the same source as St. Paul and Silas, when they were thrust into the inner prison. On the next day but one, being Trinity Sunday, they all received the Holy Communion in the Tower Chapel.

The same State prison had formerly witnessed the

* Hume's History, vol. ix. p. 449.

sufferings of Lady Jane Grey, intrepid Raleigh, and other victims of despotic power, whose names were still engraved on the walls. But to these prelates a deeper interest was imparted by the memory of Archbishop Laud, and of the ten Bishops, imprisoned there, near half a century before, by order of the Long Parliament. In 1641 the then Bishop of Bath was the victim of a Puritan democracy, that denounced him as "a Papal misleader, and altarian innovator:" and now his successor in the See was sent through the same "Traitor's Gate,"* charged as a promoter of sedition. One was imprisoned for signing a Petition to an intolerant House of Commons, the other for a Petition to an unjust tyrannical King: each in his day a sufferer for the same Church.

The Bishops were not left in solitude or neglect: they were allowed the freedom of the Tower within the walls, and their friends had leave to see them. Evelyn records his visit to the Archbishop and Ken. Lord Clarendon also went to call upon them, and found "multitudes of people going in and coming out." "Persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, flocked thither in crowds, to proffer their services, and condole with them in their sufferings; to express their gratitude and admiration, and to exhort them to firm perseverance in the course they had so nobly begun. Among the rest, ten non-conforming ministers went to pay them a visit, which the King

* "On through that *Gate misnam'd*, thro' which, before,
Went Sidney, Raleigh, Russell, Cranmer, More."

WORDSWORTH.

took so heinously that he sent for four of them to reprimand them; but their answer was, that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant and firm to the Protestant Faith. The very soldiers that kept guard would frequently drink good health to the Bishops. The constable sent orders to the captain of the guard to see that it was done no more: but the answer he received was, that they were doing it at the very instant, and would drink that, and no other health, whilst the Bishops were there.”*

A letter from Dr. Nelson, written at the time, is very expressive of the general concern that was felt for them. “Our spiritual fathers,” he says, “are under confinement: a trial of patience so great, that it were cruelty to expect we should not bemoan ourselves; but if it be a crime to lament, innumerable are the transgressors; for ever since the black Friday sentence, the nobles of both sexes keep their constant court at the Tower, where every day vast multitudes of all conditions run perpetually, all in tears, to beg the holy men’s blessings: the soldiers wait as mourners, and become so devout, that though the scene be truly sad, the end I hope will be the saving of many, and a glorious confirmation of the truth, and the sacredness of our religion, which seems to be now brought on a public stage, that all the world may see more clearly her conformity to what the first confessors embraced, and recommended so very tenderly to mankind’s care and affection. Thanks be to God, who gives us Pastors that will not (nor by a criminal silence give

* Reresby’s Memoirs.

others encouragement to) lead us astray. I need not tell you how much this integrity of the Bishops has served to convince their censurers of rash and uncharitable conceits, nor how sensible people grow of the fatal consequences of weakening the established Church by a humourfome dread of her severity. I am willing to hope that the storme that's grown so loud, and seems still to denounce terrible things, will end in a glorious calme; it will do so to all that are wise and true of heart. To-morrow it's thought our illustrious confessors will be sent for to Westminster; they will not be solitaires there." *

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 465.



CHAPTER XX.

Birth of a Prince of Wales—The Bishops are released from the Tower—Their trial for a Seditious Libel, and Acquittal—The Joy of the People—The Bishops encourage their flock to remain firm to the Church of England.



TWO days after the imprisonment of the Bishops, an event occurred that filled the Palace with joy, but struck dismay into the hearts of the people ;—the birth of a Prince of Wales. This caused the King's party to triumph in the prospect of a Romish succession, — on the other hand it knit in closer bonds the whole energies of the country to reject the perpetuating a Popish rule. The authenticity of the birth was disbelieved : it was treated as an imposture — another Popish Plot. — The most absurd stories were propagated to prove the child supposititious. The King was exasperated at so vile an accusation, reflecting dishonour on himself and the Queen. He calls it “ a detestable calumny, of their having put a supposed Prince on the nation.” Thus an event that generally cements the allegiance of subjects, widened still further the breach between himself and his people. Coming at such a moment, it increased the general alarm for the safety of their religion. The Bishops were more than ever regarded as heroic martyrs for the truth of the Protestant Faith. “ The whole Church,” writes d’Adda, the Pope’s Nuncio, “ espouses the cause of the

Bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division amongst the Anglicans, and our hopes from the Nonconformists are vanished."* James in his memoirs says, "the birth of the Prince, as it was an argument of the greatest joy to the King and Queen, and to all those who wished them well, so it gave the greatest agonys imaginable to the generality of the kingdom."†

The nation indeed was roused, almost as one man, to a sense of the danger that now threatened their common liberties: even the Dissenters perceived the King's real object to be a toleration of Romanism. How indeed could they expect a permanent indulgence for themselves, when a conscientious and humble petition from the Bishops, praying to be excused from an illegal act, drawn up with such secrecy that no copy was allowed to be taken in any writing but the Archbishop's, and delivered into the King's own hand, in the royal closet at night, and on their knees, was denounced as the publication of a seditious libel? What security could there be for others, if in the persons of these Prelates the privileges of Peers, and the sanctity of the highest religious order, were publicly violated? James expresses great bitterness against the Dissenters for so soon turning against him after the Declaration of Indulgence, and adopting the belief that "all the mitigations to them were only for the sake of the Papists. They soon therefore join'd hands and voices with the Church of England partie, so far at least as to rail against the Church of Rome, and talk of nothing but

* Mackintosh's History, p. 253.

† Clarke's Life, vol. ii. p. 161.

fire and fagot, as if Smithfield had been all in a blaze. This might be catalogued amongst their other thankfull returns for the King's snatching them out of the fire, and loosing his credit with the Church partie, for haveing gather'd those Vipers from the dunghill where the laws had lay'd them; and cherishing them in his bosome till they stung him with reproaches, as false as they were vilanous and ungrateful." *

The other measures of the King, his appointment of a Roman Catholic Council, filling the army with Popish officers, annulling the Charters of corporate cities, establishing the Ecclesiastical Commission, forcibly invading the rights of the Universities, his arbitrary and cruel measures in Ireland, all seemed of minor importance to this last act of violence on men of so holy a character, and now sustaining the part of patient, humble, loyal sufferers in the cause of truth.

James and his advisers began seriously to apprehend the consequences of their precipitancy: even Jefferies affected to deplore the present crisis, charging it on his master's determined will, and expressing a hope that more moderate counsels would prevail. He sent an obliging message to the Bishops in the Tower. Sunderland, who all this while, under cloak of devotion to the King, was consistently following out his real purpose of rendering his master odious to the people, disclaimed any share in the measure. But a judicial blindness had come over the King. At one moment he seemed willing to change his policy, at another to fear retracing one step; — urged forward by the Je-

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's *Life of James II.* vol. ii. p. 170.

fuits, he thought any thing better than to falter, and so plunged deeper into the maze, in which he had entangled himself.

The Bishops remained a week in the Tower: during that time their friends, and counsel, were actively engaged in preparing for their defence. On the 15th of June they were brought by water to the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, to plead to a charge of high misdemeanour against the King's authority. The river on both sides was lined by spectators, greeting them with acclamations, and on their landing, the people made a lane for them to pass through to the Palace Yard, begging their benedictions as before, and thinking it a happiness to kiss their hands, or their robes. The Nuncio who was a witness of the scene describes "the immense concourse of people who received them on the bank of the river, the majority in their immediate neighbourhood were on their knees. The Archbishop laid his hands on the heads of such as he could reach, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith; they cried aloud that all should kneel, while tears flowed from the eyes of many." *

Being brought into the Court, they were each called upon to plead to the indictment, which they did severally.

Clerk. My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, is your Grace Guilty of the matter charged against you in the indictment, or not Guilty?

Archbishop of Canterbury. Not Guilty.

Clerk. My Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, is your

* Mackintosh's History, p. 262.

Lordship Guilty of the matter charged against you in the information, or not Guilty?

Bishop of Bath. Not Guilty.

And so with the other five.

A fortnight was given them to prepare for trial. The Attorney General was instructed to dispense with bail, taking credit for not wishing to insist on anything that should look like hardship. They were accordingly set at liberty, on their own recognizance to appear again in Court on the 29th, and "so were dismissed to lie in their own beds that night." * Such was the universal joy at seeing the Bishops released, that they could scarcely escape from the crowd who followed them with continued shouts. "When the Archbishop arrived at Lambeth, the Grenadiers of Lord Lichfield's regiment, though posted there by his enemies, received him with military honours, made a lane for his passage from the river to his palace, and fell on their knees to ask his blessing." Ken probably accompanied the Archbishop, as he certainly did afterwards, when the trial was over, for he was staying at Lambeth Rectory with his friend Hooper. † The Bishop of St. Asaph, detained in the Palace Yard by a multitude, who kissed his hands and garments, was delivered from their importunate kindness by Lord Clarendon, who taking him into his carriage, found it necessary to make a circuit through the park to escape from the bodies of people by whom the streets were obstructed. ‡ At night the public rejoicings were continued, bonfires

* Ellis's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 350. † Prouse's MSS.

‡ Clarendon's Diary.

were made in the streets, and the health of the seven heroic Bishops was drunk with enthusiastic joy.*

As the day of trial approached the anxiety of the Court, and the interest of the people, deepened in intensity. The more moderate of the King's advisers urged him to make the birth of a young Prince of Wales the pretext for a general pardon, to include also the Bishops. Had he followed their advice, it might have allayed the popular excitement, and have prevented the consequences that followed. "He was at one time resolved to let the business fall, and not to proceed against them: but some men would hurry the King to his destruction."† He faltered only for a moment: a last faint gleam of wisdom flickered on his path; but every consideration yielded to his earnest desire for a verdict against them, which, if gained, would only have increased his difficulties. The punishment of the Bishops by heavy fines, imprisonment and deprivation, or suspension, would have aggravated still more the public mind, and alienated even these faithful counsellors, to whom he afterwards resorted in the extremity of his fortunes. He might have borrowed from their loyalty and peaceful demeanour an example of moderation, that would even now have conciliated his people. But not being susceptible of a lenient judgment of other men's consciences, a hard inflexibility of purpose prevailed to his own undoing. He had recourse to every expedient which might secure

* Doyly's *Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 288.

† His own *Memoirs*. *Clarke's Life of James II.*

the condemnation of the Bishops. Sir Samuel Astrey, who was to strike the jury, had the King's personal instructions how to manage it: Sir Robert Clarke, and the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, were busy in the matter. Lord Dartmouth was sent to the Bishop of Ely, to persuade him to make application to the King, —but in vain; he was “very steady,” and would not detach himself from his brethren.

On the 29th of June, the day appointed for the trial, the Bishops, attended by thirty-five Lords, and a concourse of other friends, took their seats in Westminster Hall. The Court was thronged with a multitude of anxious spectators: every eye seemed rivetted on these steadfast asserters of the Church's rights, as they sat in front of the Bench, conscious of their innocence, cheered by an universal sympathy, and prepared to incur any penalty that might be inflicted upon them in the cause of truth. The Judges had already declared the King's prerogative to be above all law. One of them was a Roman Catholic, and the Lord Chief Justice a creature of the Court. But at every stage of the trial, which lasted ten hours, whenever the Crown lawyers failed of their proof, or any other circumstance occurred advantageous to the prisoners, the Court resounded with a shout of laughter, or an exclamation of joy, from the crowded audience, which all the menaces of the Judge could not repress.

The trial ended at seven o'clock in the evening, when the jury retired to consider their verdict. Three loud cheers were given for the Bishops, who retired with all the privacy they could to their houses; but

wherever the people met with them, "they huzza'd and humm'd them in great abundance."*

One of their friends wrote a note to the Archbishop, dated 6 o'clock the next morning, before the Court opened; he says, "We have watched the jury all night, carefully attending without the door, on the stair head. They have, by order, been kept all night without fire or candle, bread, drink, tobacco, or any other refreshment whatever, save only some basons of water and towels this morning about 4. The officers, and our own servants, and others hired by us to watch the officers, have and shall constantly attend, but must be supplied with fresh men to relieve our guards, if need be. I am informed by my servant that about midnight they were very loud one among another: and the like happened about three this morning; which makes me collect they are not yet agreed: they beg a candle to light their pipes, but are denied." In a postscript he says, "just now the officer brings me word they are all agreed, and are sending to my Lord Chief Justice to know when he pleases to take their verdict."†

At ten o'clock the Bishops, attended as before, and the Judges, took their seats in Court to hear the all-important verdict. It is impossible to describe the keen interest that held all parties in breathless suspense, as the crier called over the names of the jury. The cause not of the Bishops only, but of the nation, seemed to hang on the next few minutes: the safety of the Reformed religion,—the vitality of the law—the very ex-

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 478.

† Gutch's Collect. Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 374.

istence of liberty were, perhaps, involved in the result. The Prelates in a simple and thoughtful collectedness of mind, the objects of an intense solicitude, the Judges, and other dependents of the Court, the Counsel, and the multitude of spectators,—were hushed into silence.

Sir Samuel Astrey. Gentlemen, are you agreed on your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Sir Samuel Astrey. Who shall say for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Sir Samuel Astrey. Do you find the Defendants or any of them Guilty of the misdemeanour, whereof they are impeached, or not Guilty?

Foreman. NOT—GUILTY.

The first word was enough;—the last was almost drowned in a tumultuous and eager burst of irrepressible triumph:—"there was a most wonderful shout, that one would have thought the Hall had crack'd."* "Not Guilty! Not Guilty!" resounded from side to side, with loud and long huzzas, which were re-echoed from without. "It passed with electrical rapidity from voice to voice along the infinite multitude who waited in the streets. It reached the Temple in a few minutes. For a short time no man seemed to know where he was. No business was done for hours. The Solicitor General informed Lord Sunderland, in the presence of the Nuncio, that never within the remembrance of man had there been heard such cries of applause, mingled with tears of joy."† "The acclamations," says Sir John Reresby, "were a very rebellion in noise."

* Lord Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 179.

† Mackintosh, p. 275.

James in his Memoirs, relates that "as soon as the Verdict of Acquittal was given, there were such prodigious acclamations of joy, as seemed to set the King's authority at defiance: it spread itself not only into the City, but even to Hounslow Heath, where the soldiers, upon the news of it, gave up a great shout, though the King was then actually at dinner in the Camp; which surprised him extremely, not on account of the Bishops' acquittal,—but what gave his Majesty great disquiet was to see such industry used to inflame the multitude, and set the people's heart against him, and that this infection had spread itself even amongst those, from whom he expected his chief security." Startled at the acclamations of the army, he sent Lord Feverham out to know what was the matter. The Earl came back, and told the King It was nothing but the soldiers shouting upon the news of the Bishops being acquitted. The King replied "And do you call that nothing? but so much the worse for them." *

The jury were received with the loudest applause; hundreds, with tears in their eyes, embraced them as deliverers. The Bishops escaped from the huzzas of the people as privately as possible, and exhorted them to fear God and honour the King. "Ken came with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Coach to Lambeth, over London Bridge and through Southwark, which took them up several hours, as the concourse of the people were innumerable, the whole way hanging upon the Coach, and insisting on the being blessed by those two Prelates, who with much difficulty and pa-

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II. Vol ii. p. 163.

tience at last got to Lambeth House.”* James accuses the Bishops of “heightening the discontent by all their little artifices to render his intentions suspected: for as they went through Westminster Hall, the people falling on their knees in mighty crowds to ask their blessing, they cry’d out to them ‘Keep your religion.’”†

It had been well for him if he could more truly have appreciated their motives, or more clearly have traced to their cause these tokens of sympathy between the Bishops and the people,—an affection for their common religion. But all his measures proclaimed that he was no longer his own master. The treacherous or fanatical counsellors to whom his confidence was given, maintained him in the same extravagant expectations, the same unyielding spirit, and a more entire belief that conciliation after defeat would compromise his authority. He had a standing army of 30,000 men to overawe the Kingdom:—this in his opinion was a stronger bulwark than the hearts of his people.

The rejoicings in London and the neighbourhood continued for some days—medals were struck to commemorate the happy event, and portraits of the Bishops were multiplied through the town. As the news spread into the country the ringing of bells and bonfires proclaimed a jubilee, especially in the Cathedral, and other large, towns. One of the absent Prelates thus writes to the Archbishop.

“Norwich, 2nd July, 1688.

“May it please your Grace

“To give me leave, *among the thousands in these parts,*

* Prouse MSS.

† His own Memoirs. Clarke’s Life of James II. Vol. ii. p. 164.

heartily to congratulate with you, and your late companions in trouble, for the most joyful and most acceptable news we had this day by the post; namely, your acquittal from the crime endeavoured to be fixed upon you. I do assure your Grace it hath mightily revived our drooping spirits; and I beseech God to make us all truly sensible of, and sincerely thankful for so great a mercy. I know your Grace hath now work enough upon your hands; and therefore it would be the greatest impertinency to interrupt you in those great affairs: wherefore I heartily bless God for your safety, and thereby for His great and singular mercies, vouchsafed to His Church, and am, as in duty bound,

“Your Grace’s

Most obedient Servant to command,

WILLIAM NORWICH.”*

Another letter to the Archbishop from Scotland says, “It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the Bishops of England are in great veneration amongst the Presbyterians of Scotland, and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst them. But I hope it will be no news to your Grace to hear that no man was more concerned in the safety of your consciences and persons, than

“May it please your Grace,

Your Grace’s most humble servant,

GEO. MACKENZIE.”†


What then must have been the joy at Bath,—and still more amongst the people at Wells, to know that

* Gutch’s *Collectanea Curiosa*, Vol. i. p. 383.

† Ibid.

their cheerful and loving Bishop, so justly dear to them all, was to be restored to his pastoral rule? They who had partaken of his charity, and listened to his teaching, and suffered so much at his imprisonment, and thought to have lost him, were now relieved of their anxious forebodings. Above all an universal release was, in this great event, proclaimed to the anxious clergy. Their own liberty of action, the very existence of the Anglican Church, seemed to depend on the issue of the contest in Westminster Hall. The battle had been fought for them, and won. It was natural that they should thankfully respond to the note of triumph, which reached them from the capital.

Well might the Bishop of Norwich anticipate that Sancroft had "enough work on his hands." Whilst James was lavishing all his attentions on the army at Hounslow, the Archbishop and his Brethren prepared to resist with other arms. The King's angry and haughty bearing, and the threats of his bigoted advisers, foretold a greater crisis yet to come. Their courage prompted them to more energetic measures for the safety of the Church, now that his hostility and violence were so openly brought out to view. The sacred trust, committed to their keeping, was yet more endeared to them, in proportion to the difficulties that seemed gathering round. All the proceedings of the King indicated that their Trial was but the prelude to a more extended plan for uprooting the national faith. The progress of Tyrconnel in Ireland, Sunderland's lately avowed conversion to Romanism, the undisguised joy of the Jesuits at the birth of a Prince, to be brought up in their tenets, the continued appointment of Popish officers to



the army, were evidences of this. Again the prolonged vacancy of several English and Irish sees, especially that of York, supposed to be kept open for Father Petre, with other encroachments of the same nature, were decisive proofs of the fixed purpose of James and his Council.

Sancroft, therefore, at once set himself to draw up twelve articles of instruction, or “ Heads of things to be more fully insisted upon by the Bishops, in their addresses to the Clergy, and people of their respective dioceses.”* Amongst other exhortations the Clergy were called upon to use their utmost endeavour both in their sermons, and by private applications to prevail with such of their flocks as were of competent age, to receive frequently the Holy Communion. They were in their sermons to inform the people (four times a year at the least, as the Canon requires) that all usurped and foreign jurisdiction was, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in the realm,—and no manner of obedience or submission was due to any that pretended to act by virtue of it : but on all occasions to persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his Majesty *in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest*. They were to maintain a fair correspondence, full of the kindest respects, with the gentry and persons of quality in their neighbourhood,—to exhort all to steadfastness in their most Holy Faith, and constancy to their profession,—to take heed to all seducers, *and especially Popish emissaries*, who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst the people, and more busy and active than ever.

* State Trials, Vol. xii. p. 480.

“ And forasmuch as those Popish emissaries, like the old Serpent, are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people in time of sickness, and the hour of death, the clergy are to be especially vigilant to comfort the sick in their sorrows and sufferings, praying often with them and for them, and preparing them for the Holy Eucharist, the pledge of their happy Resurrection: thus with their utmost diligence watching over every sheep within their fold, lest those evening wolves devour them.”

They were also to “ walk in wisdom towards all those not of our Communion, conferring with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to win them over: more especially that they have a very tender regard to our Brethren, the Protestant Dissenters; that, upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, discoursing calmly and civilly with them.” That they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them that *the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome*: and that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace for an universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy Communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.”

If the Bishops were imprisoned for joining in a humble petition to the King to be excused reading the De-

claration of Indulgence, what punishment might they not expect for publishing these Articles, openly denouncing the Popish Emissaries as ‘Evening Wolves,’ and the Romish Church, as ‘the common enemy,’ ‘full of errors, superstitions, idolatries and tyrannies!’ The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with Jefferies at their head, were still thundering forth their orders to have the Declaration read, and threatening with heavy penalties all who neglected. But whilst they claimed from their clergy a dutiful obedience to the King ‘*in all things lawful,*’ no Court of Inquisition could silence their remonstrances against the usurped authority of Rome.

It was no sudden, irregular fervour, kindled by a recent triumph, that prompted them to make a stand. We have seen how, within the King’s chapel, almost within his hearing Ken had “with wonderful eloquence described the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, superstition and legends of the Romish Priests, and their new Trent religion.” But now he was called to act as well as preach in proof of his uncompromising fidelity to the Church of England.

The Pope had appointed four Romish Bishops, who styled themselves Vicars Apostolical. They made their circuits through the country, dividing England into four Provinces, according to printed maps, and exercising an open ecclesiastical jurisdiction, similar to that of the English Bishops. They had published an address to the lay Roman Catholics, with the title of a Pastoral Letter, in which they claimed spiritual authority over the nation. It seems scarcely credible that the King’s advisers should have precipitated a measure of this kind; — a measure futile in itself, and tending

to bring his Government into contempt, because of the very few persons who professed the Roman faith, —yet so open an infringement of the law as to excite the greatest alarm.

James in his Memoirs admits that even the reception of a Nuncio from Rome was an error of judgment. "It proved," he says, "one of the first stumbling blocks: it was His Majesty's misfortune to think that a Pope's Nuncio would render people less averse to suffer the exercise of Catholic religion amongst them, by familiarizing the nation, not only to the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, but the Court of Rome too; this made his Majesty, besides the solemn services he had in his own chapel, permit the Monks in St. James's to wear their habits, and admit a Nuncio from the Pope, according to the formes practised in the most Catholick Countrys."* It had been well for him if, even at this late period, he had receded from the perilous contest before him, and returned within the bounds of his prerogative. But he ventured still deeper into hazardous measures, whose only certain result was the entire alienation of his people, at a moment when a secret and extensive plot was maturing to bring over a foreign Prince, and to wrest from him his crown and kingdom.

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 116.

CHAPTER XXI.

Invasion of England by the Prince of Orange—Measures of the King to oppose him—Ken and other Bishops advise James to call a Parliament—He refuses: the desertion of his officers: he withdraws to France—William calls a Convention Parliament.



MIDST all this confusion there was one who kept a steady watch on every turn of the King's wayward policy—his nephew, and son in law, the Prince of Orange. Until the birth of a Prince of Wales, which now prompted him to a forward movement, William had been content to wait till the natural course of events should realize his claims to the chief controul in England. He had engaged in no violent cabals, which might endanger his interests with the King: but, holding a wary intercourse with such of the English nobility as were disaffected, he knew all that was passing, and the exact temper of the people. In this he followed the advice of Lord Hallifax, "to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield, nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably." "Accidents come," said that intelligent counsellor, "which either relieve, or at least help to keep off for a longer time, the things we fear; and that is no small matter in the affairs of the world."*

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 186.

Each well considered step of William was marked by the same adroitness, which had distinguished him from his youth. We have seen how his good sense, sobriety of judgment, immoveable calmness of temper, and untiring perseverance, had conducted him through a complicated path of policy to be leader of a great European confederacy. Although chief of a Presbyterian Republic, and of the Protestant cause in Europe, he had been able to persuade the Emperor of Germany, King of Spain, and other Roman Catholic Princes, — and even the Pope himself, — to combine with him for their common defence against the ambitious designs of Catholic France. This project took effect in the League of Augsbourg.* By the exercise of the same address he now brought the various parties in England to regard him as the disinterested champion of their liberties, and the protector of their religion.

The birth of the Prince of Wales, which might exclude all hope of his wife's succession, was the signal to him for more decisive interference in English politics. His schemes were conducted under cover of the national ferment on the trial of the Bishops. The clandestine correspondence, which he had for some time maintained with the popular leaders, now assumed a more definite character. Amid the joyful peals that shook the village steeples, and the blaze of bonfires lighting up the hills throughout England, they planned the downfall of James. The well-known letter of invitation to William, to come over with an armed force, was dated the very day the Bishops were ac-

* In 1687.

quitted: it was a voice more ominous to the King, because more secret, than the shouts of his army on Hounslow Heath.

William's two great projects, to curb the power of Louis XIV. and to depose James, so far from clashing, mutually aided each other. Under pretence of promoting the objects of the League against France, he was able to bring together extensive naval and military forces for the invasion of England. Meanwhile he disclaimed all hostile thoughts against his father in law, professing towards him profound respect, and that he "wished passionately for occasions to testify his attachment to his interests,"* — when, in fact, his measures for dethroning him were silently nearing their accomplishment. The confederate powers, forming the League of Augsburg, were sensible how greatly it would aid their cause, if he should gain the ascendant in England. They did not believe that he aspired to the crown. He was able to conceal this cherished object under the guise of zeal for the common cause of Europe. On the eve of his coming to England, he wrote to the Emperor, that he "had not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdoms; and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to himself."† "He had the peculiar felicity, from the state of public affairs, to make his restless temper, and unbounded ambition, seem purely the result of necessity, and not of choice: the glorious pretensions of restoring the

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 185.

† Ibid. p. 256.

balance of Europe, and the invaded liberties of oppressed nations, gave at least a beautiful varnish to all his undertakings."*

Louis, who penetrated these designs, had constantly and emphatically warned James of his danger; and offered to help him with 40,000 men, and a large sum of money, if he would act vigorously in his own defence: for he knew that William's success would turn the whole force of England against himself. James dallied with this offer; — he would, and yet he would not, accept: he was restrained, partly by an ill-timed English pride, and partly by a mistrust of his French ally. It would have been more to his honour, if his pride and misgivings had prompted him constantly to reject the aid of Louis: but he had long since condescended to receive supplies of money from the French King, and even urgently to entreat their payment, when in arrear.† Had he followed the advice of Louis with decision, he would have defeated the conspiracy, now formed against him, though he might have encountered an almost equal danger from the admission of a French army into the heart of his kingdom. But, as the notion of an alliance with France was distasteful to the English, he feared the prejudices it might excite, and disavowed the existence of any treaty, when it was charged upon him; — yet he was not believed.‡ Thus halting between two difficulties, he chose the greater.

* Echard's History, vol. iii. p. 878.

† Dalrymple Appendix, pp. 103, 146.

‡ Letter of Louis XIV. to Barillon. Dalrymple Appendix. p. 296.

Moreover, he was lulled into a fatal security by reliance on his own prerogatives, and his large standing army : nor could he bring himself to believe that his daughter, and her husband, really intended to deprive him of his crown. Lord Sunderland, and others, accomplished in the arts of perfidious intrigue, betrayed his measures to the enemy. The further they advanced in their scheme of the Prince's invasion, the more confidently they ridiculed the idea that any such existed.*

The Revolution of 1688 has been mis-called "*glorious*." Doubtless, it saved the country from a Popish domination ; and established constitutional principles, on which the complex interests of the State have been moulded into their present admirable form of government. But the immediate means and instruments, which brought it about, were sordid and inglorious.

Looking at the actors in this great drama of the Revolution, we have,—on the one hand a king, such as James's own acts have declared him,—on the other his nearest relatives, — sons in law professing towards him a devoted allegiance, daughters bound to him by every tie of filial gratitude, trusted counsellors sworn to uphold his power, nobles and commanders paying him obsequious court,—friends loaded by him with benefits,—all combining to thrust him from his throne, and transfer their allegiance to another. If this be glorious to England, unswerving justice and un sullied honour may be no more recognized in the dealings of man with man :—let the law of a heartless selfishness, that "the end will justify the means," be the adopted motto of politicians.

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 283.

But this cannot be :—there are principles implanted in our nature, which respond to all that is noble and truthful in conduct, and assent to the condemnation of meanness and treachery. However, in the confused struggle of interests, men are, for a moment, blinded to a sense of truth and right, these are the standard by which all actions must be eventually tried at the bar of even human judgment.

And now abundantly appeared the bitter fruit of a previous sinful reign. Three years since, and Charles had been cut off in the midst of his revels : but the influence of his profligate example outlived him. In banishing from his court the principles of virtue, the only sure bond of a nation's permanent welfare, he had undermined his brother's throne :—a wholesome warning to Rulers, if they will profit by it. The moral habit of the nobility was lowered ; the manly virtues that give strength to a kingdom had deserted the precincts of the palace. Bribery, intrigue, gaming, sensuality, spread their corrupting influence over all within its sphere. When princes are profligate, unbelieving, unscrupulous, they reproduce their own vices in their attendants. So long as they have gifts to bestow, or power to controul, they are served with a languid and selfish allegiance : no sooner is their fortune on the wane, than the corrupt minions of their favour are the first to seek another master. James estimated the faithfulness of those around him by the standard of subserviency to his own will : to this he won or forced them by all the allurements, or compulsions, within the power of a King. He might have known that, just in the measure of their readiness to sacrifice principle to

self-aggrandizement, his courtiers would be willing, on occasion, to betray his interests.

Towards the end of September, James was brought to a full sense of the danger which threatened him. Louis sent him certain intelligence that the Dutch Minister, being pressed to avow the real objects of the Prince of Orange in collecting so great a naval and military force, had acknowledged to the French Ambassador at the Hague that it was designed against England; and further, that several English Lords and gentlemen had crossed the sea, and lay privately in Holland, ready to accompany him in his expedition. On reading this letter the King turned pale, and for a while remained speechless. One of his courtiers suggesting that the Prince might still be diverted from his intention, or be defeated in the attempt, he answered, "I know my son in law's character so well, that if he undertakes any design, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and may hardly be defeated."*

James's personal courage was unquestionable: he had, in early life, served with honour under Turenne, who had a great esteem for him; and again in the Spanish army before Dunkirk. In 1665 he showed great calmness and intrepidity in his naval engagements with the Dutch, exposing his person in the thickest of the fights; and he now prepared himself with spirit to meet the invading force. It was not until he saw himself deserted by the great majority of his officers, and of the nation, that he lost his presence of mind. Urged now by necessity, he proclaimed an

* Echard's History of the Revolution, p. 140.

order for the meeting of Parliament (which had only sat eleven days in the last three years) and avowed his purpose, not very sincere, we may believe, to maintain the Church of England. He declared his willingness that Roman Catholics should remain incapable of being elected to the House of Commons. Had he kept to his pledge of a Parliament, his person, and the succession of his rightful heirs, if educated in the Anglican faith, would have been held sacred. The nation had not yet forgotten the miseries of the former rebellion: men feared nothing so much as another civil struggle. Whatever had been the King's errors, the people at large had not suffered in person, or property, by his arbitrary proceedings: the sentiments of loyalty, and attachment to the throne, are deeply implanted in the minds of Englishmen.

It was equally certain, however, that a Parliament would not only declare against his power to dispense with the laws, but would curb his prerogative within the wholesome limits of the constitution. It would confirm the exclusion of Romanists from any state employment, and especially provide against a Popish heir to the Crown. James, therefore, notwithstanding his proclamation for a Parliament, determined to try every expedient, ere he would hazard so formidable an encounter. It appeared to him an easier alternative to advise with the Bishops, whom he had so lately tried to oppress, hoping through their influence to effect some compromise. Bishop Ken received a letter from Lord Sunderland to say that, "the King thinking it requisite to speak with some of the Bishops, he had it in command to require his attendance on the 28th of Septem-

ber." Accordingly he came at once to London. The Archbishop, being unwell, could not attend. Ken and five others were admitted to the audience at Whitehall. But James, yielding to treacherous counsellors, had already changed his mind; and appeared to have no fixed object in sending for them. They hoped he would have given them an opportunity of offering him free advice on the measures which his own safety, and that of the kingdom, manifestly required: but he only declared, in very general terms, his favourable views towards the Church of England, reminding them of their duty and loyalty to his person. Ken, and others of the Bishops, had come from a great distance in obedience to his summons: they were grieved that it was to so little purpose. Ken expressed to the King this disappointment, saying that "His Majesty's inclinations towards the Church, and their duty to him, were sufficiently understood and declared before, and would have been equally so, if they had not stirred one foot out of their Dioceses."* The King intimated that he had no leisure to enter into particulars, and so dismissed them.

The Archbishop, hearing how little good had been effected by the interview, went to the King the following day, to request another meeting with the Bishops, that they might explain themselves on the present emergency of his affairs. James accordingly appointed the 3rd of October. Meanwhile he published in the Gazette a notice of the Prince's intended invasion, and appealed to all his loving subjects to

* History of the Defection: State Tracts, vol. i. p. 46, folio.

defend their country with the valour and courage of true Englishmen. Yet, such was his fatuous blindness, in the very same document he recalled his writs for the Election of Members to Parliament, on the plea that "this strange and unreasonable attempt from our neighbouring country was designed to divert his gracious purposes," — which, so far from being a reason against the meeting of Parliament, ought to have convinced him it was the only effectual measure for uniting all classes in defence of his just rights.

In fact, his enemies feared nothing so much as his heartily throwing himself on the allegiance of his people by this return to the principles of a representative Government. They knew it would reassure all honest men of his being disposed to listen to reason. Sunderland, therefore, and others of his council, persuaded him to break his solemn pledge. They had no doubt Parliament would at once turn them out of their offices; and, as his personal presence with his army was indispensable, they made him believe that he could not controul the probable encroachments on his prerogative.

On the 3rd of October the Bishops again waited on the King: having permission to express themselves on the present crisis, the Archbishop read the paper they had drawn up.—It consisted of 10 articles. They recommended him

1st. To put the administration of government into the hands of such of the nobility and gentry as were *legally qualified* for it.

2nd. To annul the Ecclesiastical Commission.

3rd. To withdraw, and in future withhold, all dis-

penfations, under which any perfon not lawfully qualified had been, or might be, put into offices of truſt and preferment in Church or State, or in the Universities, eſpecially ſuch as have cure of ſouls annexed to them, and particularly to reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of Magdalen College.

4th. To withdraw all licences for Roman Catholics to teach in public ſchools.

5th. To deſiſt from the diſpenſing power, until that point had been freely and calmly debated, and ſettled, in Parliament.

6th. To prohibit the four foreign Biſhops, who ſtilled themſelves Vicars Apoſtolical, from further invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which is by law veſted in the Biſhops of the Engliſh Church.

7th. To fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and other eccleſiaſtical promotions in England and Ireland, and in particular the Archiepiſcopal chair of York, which had been ſo long vacant, and on which a whole Province depended.

8th. To reſtore the ancient Charters of the Corporations, which had been forfeited.

9th. To iſſue writs with all convenient ſpeed for calling a free and regular Parliament, for ſecuring the uniformity of the Church of England, due liberty of conſcience, and the liberties and properties of the ſubject, and for eſtabliſhing between himſelf and all his people a mutual confidence and good underſtanding.

10th. To permit the Biſhops to offer to His Majeſty ſuch motives and arguments as might, by God's grace, be effectual to perſuade him to return to the Communion of the Church of England, into whoſe

most Holy Catholic Faith he had been baptized and educated, to which it was their earnest prayer to God that he might be reunited.

"These, Sir," concluded the address, "are the humble advices, which, out of conscience of the duty we owe to God, to your Majesty, and our country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majesty, as suitable to the present state of your affairs, and most conducive to your service; and so we leave them to your Princely consideration, &c.

The paper was signed by the Archbishop, Ken, and seven other Prelates. It was dictated by the same bold spirit of candour towards the King, and of zeal for the public service, as their former petition, for which he had sent them to the Tower. They advocate no new principles or theories of government, no line of policy adverse to his real interests, but simply a return to the just limits of the law, as already existing, and a Parliament, as the acknowledged instrument of redressing present grievances. James was prompted by his fears to adopt their advice in several particulars: but as to the meeting of Parliament, which was the turning point of his safety, he stoutly resolved against it.

Bishop Ken, having fulfilled the duty, for which he was summoned to London, returned at once to Wells, and to his spiritual offices. He saw that the King was spell-bound, as it were, by the influence of Jesuits and other advisers, urging him on to fatal measures in furtherance of their own schemes; and it was already known that many, who were most loud in their hollow professions of loyalty, would be the first to desert him. He felt himself unfitted for such scenes: he could

neither flatter the King, nor throw himself into the broil of political feuds. The only course open to him was to exert his influence in maintaining the King's interests within the sphere of his own diocese, to encourage the steadfast, confirm the wavering,—if possible, to bring back those who were giving themselves to the cause of rebellion. His pastoral cure was the loved refuge and solace to him in every trial; his people were his only family; in keeping them true to their allegiance he could not err. He held calmly on his way under the guidance of an inner light—gentle, moderate, humble,—but immoveably steadfast to his own principles.

The following week he received a form of prayer, drawn up by the Archbishop, which he caused to be read in the cathedral, and all other churches. It was to beseech God to give his holy angels charge over the King, to preserve his royal person in health and safety, to inspire him with wisdom and justice, and to fill his princely heart with a fatherly care of all his people. To this was added another prayer “for peace, and the prevention of Christian bloodshed in the land, for reconciliation of all dissensions, for the preservation of our holy religion, our ancient laws and government, and for universal charity in the same holy worship and communion.”

While the Stadtholder was hurrying on his enterprise, encouraged by fresh promises from England, James did not neglect the means of his defence. Yet they were disproportioned to the dangers that surrounded him,—or rather they were ill directed. Instead of concentrating all his energies to bring his

army into the field, and at once to put himself at their head, he lost much valuable time in collecting detailed, and irrefragable evidence to prove before the Privy Council the reality of the Prince of Wales's birth. As if to provoke still further the public distrust, he chose to have the child solemnly baptized into the Romish communion, the Pope, by his Nuncio, standing Godfather. The fact of the Queen's delivery is now undisputed: but great pains were taken to persuade the people that it was an imposture, managed by the Jesuits. William, in the public Declaration which he had put forth, explaining the motives and objects of his coming over, laid great stress on a supposititious birth, as a topic well suited to inflame the prejudices of the nation. If he really believed the calumny, it was not creditable to his judgment; if he disbelieved it (as subsequent facts would seem to prove), so foul an imputation on the honour of his father in law, and of the Queen, compromises at once his veracity and manliness.

At length, on the 5th of November, he effected his landing in Torbay. But he met with a cold and timid welcome, which damped the ardour of his hopes. The terrible punishment inflicted on the insurgents in Monmouth's rebellion was still fresh in all memories throughout the west of England; and so few joined his standard, that he entertained serious thoughts of returning. Had James at once marched his army to meet him, it is difficult to say what might have been the result: but he committed the fatal error of remaining twelve days in London, during which many of the nobility and gentry went over to the Prince.

A civil war appeared inevitable : it was the constant opinion of all the King's real friends, that even now the only hope of avoiding this calamity was to call a free Parliament. The Archbishop, therefore, and such of the Prelates as were in town, with several of the Peers, resolved once more to represent to him the danger of the present distractions by reason of their grievances, and to beseech him with all speed to adopt this measure. It has been erroneously stated that Ken was again in London on this occasion. But he thought he could be of more use in the country. The result verified his opinion ; for a part of the invading army came to Wells, which made it necessary for him to take measures of precaution for the public service, in obedience to the King's Proclamation. He also foresaw that nothing would divert James from his resolution, which was proved by his answer to the Petition of the Peers : " My Lords," he said, " What you ask of me I most passionately desire ; and *I promise you upon the faith of a King*, that I will have a Parliament, and such a one as you ask for, *as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this Realm* : for how is it possible a Parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near a hundred voices ? "

Thus he sacrificed everything to a blind confidence in his false counsellors. He left London the same evening, (the 17th November) to join his army at Salisbury ; accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, Lord Churchill, and others. He arrived at Salisbury on the 19th, but being deserted by the unprincipled Churchill, and many of his chief officers, and

fearing he might be betrayed into the hands of the enemy, he retreated to Andover on the 24th.* Ken mentions this, with other circumstances, in a letter of the same date to Sancroft.

“ For his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ BEFORE I could return any answer to the letter with which your Grace was pleased to favour me, I received intelligence that the Dutch were just coming to Wells, upon which I immediately left the town, and in obedience to his Majesty’s generall commands, took all my coach horses with me, and as many of my saddle horses as I could, and took shelter in a private village† in Wiltshire, intending if his Majesty had come into my country, to have waited on him, and have paid him my duty. But this morning wee are told his Ma: is gone back to London, so that I only wait till the Dutch have passed my diocese, and then resolve to return thither againe, as being my proper station. I

* A shrewd writer of the day observes, “ ’twas no wonder after this if the King began to mistrust everybody, which made him on a sudden leave his army at Salisbury, in order to consider his condition more securely at London. And here I must observe his ill fortune in depending on his army at first too much, and now at last too little. For ’tis very probable that his soldiers, if once blooded, would have gone on with him, and have beaten the Prince of Orange, just as they had done before the Duke of Monmouth: the nature of Englishmen being like that of our game cocks; they love no cause, nor man, so well as fighting, even sometimes without any cause at all.” Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 9393.

† No doubt Poulshot, a small village near Devizes, of which his nephew, Isaac Walton junior, was Rector.

would not have left the Diocese in this juncture, but that the Dutch had seas'd houses within ten miles of Wells before I went, and your Grace knows that I, having been a servant to the Princess, and well acquainted with many of the Dutch, I could not have staid without giving some occasion of suspicion, which I thought it most advisable to avoid; resolving by God's grace to continue in a firm loyalty to the King, whome God direct and preserve in this time of danger; and I beseech your Grace to lay my most humble duty at his Majesty's feet, and to acquaint him with the reason of my retiring, that I may not be misunderstood. God of his infinite mercy deliver us from the calamitys which now threaten us, and from the sinnes which have occasioned them.

“ My very good Lord,

Your Graces very affect: servant and Br.

THO. BATH AND WELLS.” *

“ Nov. 24, 1688.”

Very different from these loyal sentiments was the scene of treachery which, on the same day, was passing in the Court at Andover, within the distance of twenty miles from Poulshot. The King halted there on his retreat from Salisbury. His son in law, Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and others supped with him,—loyalty and devotion on their lips, perfidy in their hearts: for immediately after supper they took horse to join the Prince of Orange at Sherborne. Prince George might, at least, have had the decency to abstain from his father's table, which he polluted by

* Round's Prose Works of Thomas Ken.

his presence, and from which he rose only to perpetrate his long meditated treachery. He left behind him a mean letter to the King, beginning, "With a heart full of grief am I forced to write what prudence will not permit me to say to your face," and signed himself "Your Majestys most obedient and humble servant and son." He was a poor creature, as weak in intellect as in principle. James declares, in his memoirs, that "he was more troubled at the unnaturalness of the action than the want of his services, for that the loss of a good trooper would have been of greater consequence." * His only answer to the letter was to send his servants and equipage after him, which, if the Prince had a spark of feeling, must have been a keen and contemptuous reproof. †

On the 24th of November the King continued his retreat: he gave orders to distribute his forces in the different villages between Windsor and London, and arrived the next day at Whitehall, weary and enfeebled in body, distracted and harassed in spirit. He might hope at least to find, if only for a short interval, the refreshing sense of tenderness and affection in his family circle. Scarcely, however, had he received the first welcome of the Queen, when his enquiries for the Princess Anne, to whom he had ever been an indulgent parent, were met by the intelligence that she had

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II. vol. ii. p. 225.

† He had a silly trick of expressing his wonder on every occasion by "*est il possible*." When the King heard in the morning that he had followed the example of others in escaping to the enemy, he said sneeringly, "*so est il possible* is gone too." Ibid. in the note.

secretly left the palace the night before, in a hackney coach, with the Bishop of London and Lady Churchill, and was gone to meet the Prince of Orange. Well might the father's heart sink within him at this astounding news : — the bitter cup of adversity was now well nigh full. He burst into tears. His own daughter, forgetting all the tenderness of her sex, the instincts of nature, the motives of filial gratitude, duty, allegiance and piety—clandestinely fled from his palace to aid the successful invader of his throne ! Nor was this from any sudden impulse of duty to her husband ; for she had long known, and acquiesced in, the proposed invasion, and some days previous to the flight of Prince George had written to William, expressing her impatience to join him. It might be that her attachment to the Anglican Church superseded all other affections. Let charity offer this palliation ; it can never justify the unnatural and irreligious act.

“ It was on this occasion,” says James in his *Memoirs*, “ that finding himself in the like circumstances with King David, he cry'd out with him, ‘ Oh if my enemys only had curs'd me, I could have borne it : ’ but it was an inexpressible grief to see those he had favour'd, cherish'd, and exalted, nay his own children, rise thus in opposition against him. This was what required a more than natural force to support : those strokes had been less sensible, had they come from hands less dear to him ; but being delivered over to all the contradictions that malice or ingratitude could throw in his way, he saw no hopes of redress, so turned his whole attention how to save the Queen, and the

Prince his son, and cast about which way to do it with most security and secrecy." *

We may hasten over the next six weeks, full as they were of stirring events, and offering to the historical reader one of the most interesting and instructive epochs in the annals of England. The King, having returned to London, at length issued a Proclamation for the meeting of Parliament. Had he done this earlier, or even now caused the two Houses to meet, he might have preserved his throne: for though he had himself violated the Constitution, they would, no doubt, have maintained his rights. The great bulk of the nation, in joining the Prince, intended only to guard their religion and liberties. But James's advisers knowing the measure would seal their downfall and disgrace, persuaded him, rather than submit to any compromise, to throw himself into the arms of the French King, who would soon enable him to return with a powerful army to recover his throne. In an evil hour he adopted this advice. He had already sent over the Queen and the young Prince; and on the 11th of December, to the joy of the Stadtholder, and the amazement of the nation, he withdrew secretly from Whitehall, and made for the coast. He says, "things were come to that extremity, by the general defection of the nobility, gentry, and clergy; by the scandalous desertion of the chief officers and others in the army, as gave little reason to trust those who remained; so that no other counsel could reasonably be embraced, but to quit

* Clarke's *Life of James II.*, vol. ii. p. 229.

the kingdom with as much secrecy as he possibly could." *

He was discovered at Feversham by some fishermen, and very roughly handled by the mob : but the next day these tidings being brought to the council, they sent a detachment of troops to protect his person, and invite his return. Accordingly on the 15th, by one of those strange vicissitudes which baffle all calculation, he made his entry again into London amidst the loud welcomes of the inconstant populace. Bonfires, peals of bells, and all imaginable marks of love and esteem, made it wear the appearance of a day of triumph. These expressions of regard were prompted by a momentary, but generous feeling of pity at hearing of his ill treatment.

The Prince, who had advanced his army without opposition to Windsor, hearing of this unsettled temper of the people, could not restrain his resentment against those who had promoted the King's return. He now had recourse to unworthy expedients to force him, by fears for his personal safety, to fly once more. The foreign guards were ordered to take up their quarters at Whitehall. James retired to rest in the midst of them : but at midnight, whilst he was in bed, a warrant was delivered to him from the Prince, ordering him to leave the palace before ten o'clock the next morning, the 18th December. The full sense of his danger prompted him once more to the conviction that his only course was to escape to France. He was

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's History of James II., vol. ii. p. 241.

allowed to proceed to Rochester, from whence, by William's order, every facility of escape was afforded him; and on the 25th he for ever left England to take refuge with a foreign Prince. The generous long-enduring sympathy of Louis exhibited a forcible contrast to the selfish and inflexible ambition of his own son in law.

Within a few days of the King's removal from London William came to the palace with his Dutch troops, the rabble crowding and shouting round him, as they had done a few days before for James. The Courtiers who, as but yesterday, waited on the King, now hastened to pay their duty to the usurper of his throne. William, astonished at their fickleness, resolved not to trust them, until he had adjusted the clashing interests of all parties to the present posture of his fortunes. In contrast with his own intentness of purpose he discerned the inconsistency of those he had to deal with. He conducted himself with admirable discretion and calmness: he said little; and by no act did he overstep the position of a provident general, quartering his army in and near the capital of a friendly nation he was come to rescue from oppression. This was the turn he succeeded in giving to the public mind, which he had the tact to seem always to follow, rather than lead.

On the 20th the Sheriffs, and a deputation from the city, had an audience to express their sense of gratitude and attachment. On the 25th the Lords, having met in their own House, voted an address, desiring his Highness to take upon him the temporary management of affairs, and to cause letters to be written, sub-

scribed by himself, to the counties, universities and towns, directing them to choose members who should assemble in Parliament. The Prince did not consider their authority sufficient, without an equal sanction from the Commons; and before he would return any answer he invited all who had served in any of the Parliaments of Charles II., also the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and fifty of the Common Council, to wait upon him. Accordingly 160 members, with the citizens, came to St. James's on the 26th, and being made acquainted with the state of affairs, were desired to meet for deliberation in the House of Commons in Westminster. This they immediately did, made choice of their speaker, and concurred in the address of the Lords. Under this joint authority, the Prince issued his summons for the meeting of a Convention on the 22nd of January. The 30th of December, being Sunday, he received the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England.



CHAPTER XXII.

Meeting of the Convention Parliament — Declaration that the Throne was vacant — Not approved by Ken and others. — The Crown conferred on William and Mary — The Revolution considered.



THE History of James II. presents to us the spectacle of a king, sacrificing his inherited crown, and all that life had to offer of power, honour, or happiness, to the vain hope of re-establishing Romanism, which had long been rejected by the nation. Mr. Fox imputes to him the love of arbitrary power, as his master passion: we may rather ascribe his acts to a sincere attachment to his religion, and the dictates of conscience. The whole history of the world teems with examples of errors, and even crimes, committed under the sanction of a mistaken conscience. The assassin of Henri Quatre sincerely thought he was ridding the Christian world of a dangerous heretic. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated under the belief that, in promoting the cause of the Catholic religion, it would tend to the glory of God. Oliver Cromwell's conscience, if we are to believe his own assertions, prompted him to bring Charles to the block. The religious persecutions of all sects, in all times,—and the alternate yoke of oppressors, in whatever cause, have been defended on the same false plea. Conscience has a varying

standard in every individual mind,—true, when she prompts us to the exercise of Christian love, but a subtle betrayer, whenever she would justify the acts of a violent or selfish will. James's conscience was in the keeping of Father Petre, and Signor D'Adda, “a fine showy fop, making love to the ladies.”* Under their guidance he would have imposed a yoke on England, in the confidence that he could interpret the Divine Will, which he was conscientiously resolved to accomplish by his own means,—and so forfeited the kingdom for himself and his posterity.

It may be well asked what became all this time of the Jesuits, Monks, and Roman Counsellors, who had been the active agents of mischief, and the immediate cause of the King's downfall. They were absolutely put to the rout: some escaped to France, others hid themselves; their chapels were burnt or pillaged by the mob. A letter from Father Con to the Provincial of the Jesuits at Rome gives a lively picture of their confusion, and of their own folly that brought it about.

* Father Con's letter. Clarendon's Correspondence and Diary, vol. ii. p. 506. In his after Memoirs the King admits that D'Adda was very ill chosen as Nuncio, “being but a young man, who had appear'd at court for some time in a secular capacity, and therefore very improper to draw that reverence and respect which is due to such a character, especially from a people of a different religion, and who being apt to turn the most sacred things into ridicule, would hardly be persuaded that, by a man's entering into orders, gravitie, experience, learning, and all other qualifications fit for a Bishop, would be confer'd in an instant, as in the Apostles' time.” Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 117.

“ London, 10 Dec. 1688.

“ Honour’d Father William,

“ THERE is now an end of all the pleasing hopes of ~~seeing~~ our holy religion make a progress in this country. The King and Queen are fled, their adherents are left to themselves, and a new Prince, with a foreign army, has got possession without the least resistance. It is a thing unseen, unheard of, unrecorded in history, that a king in peaceful possession of his realm, with an army of 30,000 fighting men, and 40 ships of war, should quit his kingdom without firing a pistol. The foreigners themselves who have got possession are astonished at their own success, and laugh at the English for their cowardice and disloyalty to their Prince. It looks as if heaven and earth had conspired against us. But this is not all; the great evil comes from ourselves; our own imprudence, avarice, and ambition have brought all this upon us. The good king has made use of fools, knaves, and blockheads; and the great minister that you sent hither has contributed also his share. Instead of a moderate, discreet and sagacious minister, you sent a mere boy, a fine showy fop to make love to the ladies;

Egregium verò ludem, et spolia ampla tulistis.

But enough on this head, my dear friend; the whole affair is over. I am only sorry that I made one among so many madmen, who were incapable of either directing or governing. I now return, as I can, with the little family* to a land of Christians: this unhappy voyage costs me dear: but there is no help for it.

* i. e. the Jesuits.

The prospect was fair, if the business had been in the hands of men of sense; but, to our disgrace, the helm was held by rogues. I have already paid the compliments of the new year to our patrons; and I now do the same to you and to all friends. If God grants me a safe passage beyond sea, you shall hear from me.

“ I remain as usual.

“ A Scotch gentleman named Salton who is arrived here from P. D. O. sends his respects to you, and Signore Tomaso. The confusion here is great, nor is it known what is likely to be the event, much less what it will be: but for us there is neither faith nor hope left. We are totally put to the rout this time, and the Fathers of our Holy Company have contributed their part towards this destruction. All the rest Bishops, Confessors, Friars and monks have acted with little prudence.” *

As soon as it was known that the King had gone away the second time, Archbishop Sancroft wrote to Ken, Lloyd, and others, requiring their attendance. “ My Lord; the great Revolutions, which have of late been here, and y^e perplext estate of affairs, consequent thereupon, have made it not only mine, but the opinion of all our Brethren here, that you should make all convenient hast up hither. Wishing you a prosperous journey.

I remain Y^r very affect. Brother

“ Lambh. H. Dec. 18, 1688.”

W. CANT.” †

The letter reached Ken within 48 hours of the time

* Lord Clarendon's Correspondence and Diary, vol. ii. p. 506.

† MSS. Dr. Williams's Collection.

he was to hold an Ordination in his cathedral. He did not hesitate in deciding which was his paramount duty: he proceeded with the appointed work of the Church. Christmas and the following days being holy Festivals, he was not disposed to mix in political turmoils, and promised to come up as soon as the weather would permit.*

The Prince maintained an impenetrable reserve as to his next movements: but his friends and partizans were encouraged to prepare the public mind for his taking possession of the throne: they "marshalled him the way that he was going," loudly proclaiming his virtues, and the debt of gratitude the nation owed him for their deliverance from tyranny and Popery. The press teemed with laudatory tracts, and arguments to prove his title to the crown. "The Prince of Orange, who had more interest than any in what was to follow, seemed the only person in England unconcerned amidst the universal ferment. He went little abroad: he was difficult of access. When access was obtained, he appeared civil, but not cordial, listened with attention, but answered not; and the few questions he asked seemed to proceed only from the common curiosity of a stranger. He even went ~~a~~ hunting, and dined at a private gentleman's house in the country, two days before the Convention was to take the great question of the settlement into consideration. In the whole of his behaviour he not only kept, but affected to show that he kept, his inclinations concerning the future measures of the Convention a mystery; either

* Tanner MSS. vol. xxviii. p. 299.

from grandeur of mind, or from the affectation of it; or perhaps from a desire to see the character and actions of the English in their native colours." *

The Declaration of the Prince, before his landing, led the world to believe that he aimed at nothing beyond a Regency: it explicitly states that "he had no other view than to establish the lawful Government, according as a free Parliament should find necessary for the peace, honour and safety of the Kingdom, so that there may be no more danger of its falling at any time hereafter under arbitrary government." † This is confirmed by his reference to the rights of the Princess, intimating that she was entitled to the succession after her father's death. Clarendon says that so late as the 4th of December, at Salisbury, he was told by Monfr. Bentinck, the most confidential friend of the Prince, that "his Highness had acted in conformity with his Declaration throughout; though there are not evil men wanting, who give it out that the Prince aspires at the Crown, *which is the most wicked insinuation that could be invented*; that though three Kingdoms would be a great temptation to other men, yet it would appear the Prince preferred his word before all other things in the world, and would pursue his Declaration, in endeavouring to settle all matters here upon a true foundation." It is certain that, before James withdrew from the kingdom, the great majority of the nobles and gentry, bishops and clergy, entertained no other thoughts than a Regency: it was not until after the

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 257.

† History of the Desertion, p. 72.

King had gone away that the ulterior views of the Prince began to unfold themselves.

Ken, being summoned to the House of Lords, did not fail to be present on so solemn an occasion, when the interests of the Church and of the Crown were at stake. He could hardly doubt that, in the perplexed discussions and jarring interests of party men, he would have to take a line adverse to the Prince, who was in all probability to wear the crown. This caused him no indecision : there was no feebleness of purpose in any course he had ever pursued. His frank simplicity was one of the main elements of his calmness in all emergencies : he felt no anxiety to ingratiate himself with those in power by a compromise of principle. He was at Lambeth Palace on the 10th of January 1689, Sancroft being very desirous to have the advice of the Bishops at the present crisis. We have a letter from Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, apologizing for his, and his Brethren's unwelcome importunities with the Archbishop, who appears to have expressed his unwillingness to attend the Convention. In this he persevered to the end : he was ready to sustain the King's rights by his counsel, and to suffer for the cause of the Crown ; but he could not be persuaded to take his seat in the House of Peers. It was a great disappointment to the legitimists that one of his virtue, ability, and rank in the State, who had so strong a hold on the reverence of the people, should appear to be wanting in decision, when the questions at issue might be powerfully influenced by his public avowal of the principles of allegiance.

Ken had been requested to sketch out " a draft of

certain propositions against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession," which, after revision, might be presented to the Convention as the general voice of the Prelates in favour of the King's title. This was sent to the Archbishop, as "a little paper of hints," which he, "being better versed in the repositories of canons, and statutes," was requested to form and put in order. "I see nothing," says Turner, "so likely as this representation to unite us, and satisfy all good men, who are now waiting, and fixing their hopes on us as the body to make a stand." *

The Bishops, especially those whom James had imprisoned, did not consider that his departure from the kingdom made a forfeit of his constitutional rights. They held themselves bound by their oaths to adhere to him. Evelyn says, "I visited the Archbishop on the 15th, where I found the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, and others. After prayers, and dinner, divers serious matters were discoursed concerning the present state of the public; and I was sorry to find (from them) there was yet no accord in the judgment of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene: some would have the Princess of Orange made Queen without any more dispute; others were for a Regency: there was a Tory party (as then so call'd) who were for inviting His Majesty again upon conditions; and there were Republicans, who would make the P. of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy amongst these several parties, to bring them into confusion; most for ambition, or other interest,

* Doyly's Life of Sancroft.

few for conscience, and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in the assembly of Bishops, who were pleased to admit me into their discourses; they were all for a Regency, thereby to save their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the laws in being."*

On the 22nd of January the two Houses met at Westminster to decide this great question. Hardly ever was there a day more important to the future interests of England. Their first act was an order for a public thanksgiving, on the 31st, for their deliverance from Popery, and arbitrary power. They afterwards concurred in an address to the Prince of Orange, as the "glorious instrument, next to God, of so great a blessing," and requested him to continue the government of all public affairs, which he had hitherto so prudently conducted. The Bishops were requested to frame appropriate prayers for the day of thanksgiving. Thus William was justified by the voice of the nation.

The Convention continued to deliberate until the 12th of February: both Houses were engaged in lengthy debates, conflicting proposals, amendments, and conferences, — whether the Throne was really vacant, and whether William should be only Regent, or be invested with full sovereignty. All this time the Prince lived in seclusion at St. James's. His pride and independence could not stoop to win the crown by courtly arts, for which, indeed, he was very little qualified by his inflexible temper, and distant manners.

* Diary, vol. ii. p. 1.

He well knew the dilemma in which the country stood ; and he was resolved to leave them no alternative between his own coronation, or the recall of James. This latter he had no occasion to fear : he saw the vast majority of the nation already exulting in their escape from thralldom. The last acts of the King, even in the moment of departure, had shown his fixed attachment to the Roman faith ; and what could the nobles expect from so arbitrary a monarch, but a severe retribution for their late desertion of him, if he should ever return at the head of a French army ?

William's decision of character was not likely to be relaxed by his triumphant march through the heart of the kingdom. The confident leader of confederate kings, accustomed through life to surmount difficulties, now clearly determined his own path amid the irresolute counsels of a Parliament, bound to him by an acknowledgment of his services. As he had so largely staked his reputation and safety on a mature calculation of the chances, he was not disposed to yield the game, when it was in his own hands. The Houses had already been three weeks in debate : he was no longer disposed to brook this delay, and doubtful balancing of the future. He sent, therefore, to some of the Lords who had invited him over ; he told them plainly he did not wish to interfere in their measures ; but he would have it understood that he did not mean to be Regent of England : he had rather go back with his army to Holland. He would be nothing less than King. He even desired that the Princess should only be Queen Consort, and the whole executive power vested in himself. This was too much to bear : there was something

an English in the idea of dispossessing Mary of her inheritance. After all he was but a foreigner, — and the nation, though largely his debtor, loved their own Prince, from whom alone he derived his right of inheritance. The States were prepared to give him the joint sovereignty with herself, and to leave the executive in his hands : a concession beyond which they would not go. This led to a compromise ; and it was at length agreed to bestow the crown on the Prince and Princess jointly for their lives, and to the survivor ; — and that William should enjoy the full exercise of power in his own name, and that of Mary.

Practically the settlement of the nation could not have been accomplished under a Regency, which always implies a limit of duration. If William was to govern effectually, it could only be as King. The same authority that would have bestowed the Regency might at any time withdraw it on some specious pretext. The machinery of such a government could not have held together under the pressure of contending factions : it would have had no lasting strength, if subject to the breath of popular feeling, at all times uncertain, and in England liable to sudden changes. William was at once too sagacious, and too independent, to submit to any such hazard. At the very best he was entering on a task of much intricacy and toil : nothing but the strong prerogatives of the crown, founded on ancient law and usage, could have controlled a jealous House of Commons on the one hand, and on the other a proud aristocracy, at all times divided into parties, and forward to claim a large share in power and influence. Even after he had become king he was so harassed

and chagrined by the contests of Whig and Tory factions, of enthusiasts for a Republic, and partizans of James, that he more than once formed the project of returning to Holland, and leaving the Queen to govern a people he could neither conciliate nor coerce. As Regent he could never have sustained a power, whose strong hold must have been the personal attachment of the people, for he was devoid of those winning qualities which would reconcile a jealous nation to a foreign rule. He exhibited, therefore, a sound judgment in refusing impracticable limits and conditions of government.

Archbishop Sancroft could not be prevailed upon to attend any part of these discussions. His friends urgently entreated him to do so ; and it was thought his presence would have turned the scale in the House of Lords, where the numbers were very evenly balanced. On the great question whether the Prince should be Regent or King, the latter was carried only by a majority of two ; fifty-one against forty-nine. Sancroft had resolved in his own mind never to change his allegiance : but, perhaps doubting the legality of the Convention, and foreseeing the result of the debates, he was unwilling by his presence, as Primate, to give even a shadow of pretence for saying that, having shared in them, he was bound by the act of the majority. Ken, on the other hand, is recorded in the minutes of the House to have been present on each day without a single omission. He voted on all the questions, but took no part in the debates. At length when the Peers, by a majority of fifteen, concurred with the Commons in bestowing the crown upon William and Mary, he joined with the minority in a protest against

the Resolution, and then altogether withdrew. Both these holy men acted from a sense of duty: they differed in judgment, not only on this, but afterwards on other material points, affecting the interests of the Church, and the line of right they were called to pursue.

The Convention, in conferring the crown upon William, did not neglect the opportunity to settle the bounds of the Royal prerogative, and to secure to the nation the full establishment of their religion, and liberties. The Act, therefore, which made over the crown, began with a recital of the arbitrary measures of James, contrary to the known laws, and statutes, and freedom of the Realm. It sets forth a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS comprised in thirteen Articles, which must ever be considered a grand and conspicuous work, the seal of our liberties, and a monument of the wisdom and energy of our ancestors. The same day that this Act and Declaration were made, the Princess Mary arrived from Holland, and was received with every mark of affection. William had delayed her coming until he saw that his path to the throne was clear of every difficulty. This is an additional proof that he would have carried out his threat of returning to Holland, rather than accept the Regency.

It is due to his active and sagacious genius to say, that every measure in preparing and accomplishing his designs was so adapted to the end in view, so well timed, and so fortified against every contingency, as to establish his claim to a masterly political foresight. He is entitled to the merit of having, by his judicious and moderate conduct, courage, and secrecy, prevented the long train of evils which usually accompany a forced

change of dynasty. He presents a rare instance of an aspiring invader, controlling every event, yet seeming to submit the exercise of his power to the will of those he meant to govern. Landing with a small force on a foreign shore, to dethrone a king in command of a much larger army than his own, he threw himself with entire confidence amidst a brave people, who had for years been engaged in obstinate wars with his own countrymen : and now, by plausible appeals to their prejudices, and by adapting his whole conduct to their known character and needs, he at once roused them to a deeper sense of the wrongs they had suffered, and convinced them that he was the only proper and effectual instrument of their deliverance.

He induced them to believe that he claimed nothing for himself,—aimed at no conquest,—desired no other title than that of mediator between them and their deluded king. He prudently refrained from every act which they did not themselves appear to prompt. Their outraged religion and laws were the theme on which he dilated : he offered them his sympathy, and his aid, in securing to them a just and legal government, desiring only, in return, that they should rightly appreciate his motives, and give him the meed of their approval. In the name of his “beloved consort,” an English Princess, he claimed the confidence of the nation, with whose interests he was identified : he expressed no passion but the love of liberty, which he had successfully vindicated in his own country ; and in the same cause he was now ready to hazard, as in the face of Europe, his person and good name.

William must ever be considered in the light of a

successful usurper : but his usurpation secured to England the free exercise of her religious and civil rights. He violated the first principles of the moral law in de-throning a sovereign, who had a peculiar claim to his respect and duty : but it was the general voice of the nation itself that proclaimed him king. He was false to his own Declaration, which disclaimed any desire to seize the crown : but when he attained it, he exercised its powers with moderation.

Many learned works have been written on the abstract principles of government, involved in the history of this period ;—the divine right of kings, the law of nature, the original compact between prince and people, the obligation of kings to conform to their oaths, the right of forcible resistance to the tyranny of rulers, passive obedience, the effect of an abdication on the rights of a legitimate heir, born at the time, have been variously discussed. Great authorities might be quoted as advocates on either side. But the fate of kingdoms and people in times of emergency do not depend on fine-drawn theories of government. The prejudices and passions, the interests and resolves of men have ever swept away all such restraints : practically, whether right or wrong, necessity imposes her own law. This at least may be said, that in England the causes of confusion, if traced to their source, will generally be found to lie with the existing rulers, or their predecessors. Such undoubtedly was the case in the Revolution of 1688.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ken, and other Bishops, refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary. Act of Parliament for their suspension and deprivation. Question of Passive Obedience. Ken's consistent Conduct. The Non-juring Bishops publish a Vindication of themselves.



THE life of Ken, if not unchequered, had hitherto been one of continued and advancing usefulness in the several offices of the Church: the world smiled upon him, honoured his piety, admired his eloquence, loved him for his charities. Henceforward his character is to be viewed under a new aspect. He was misunderstood, misrepresented, forced into retirement and poverty: "suffering deprivation" (to use his own words) "not only of honour, but of income; sufficiently ridiculed, and exposed to the world as a man of no conscience, particulars out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable."* Still, the inner man was unchanged—in every act we find the same simplicity, blending with an undaunted firmness that could not yield up of principle one span's breadth.

His future path was to be more difficult, because every step was beset with entangled questions of personal consistency, which to a sensitive mind are deeply

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 35.

anxious ;—more responsible, because it tended to separate him from the great body of the English Church, which he so much loved, as the ordained instrument and channel of the true worship of God. Having joined in the last struggle in the House of Lords to maintain the rights of the King, he was soon called to decide a point, on which would depend the whole tenor of his after life. At his consecration he had sworn, as in the presence of God, that James was the rightful King, and that he would bear true faith to him, and his heirs :—a pledge imposed by Parliament. The same power now required him to forego this oath, and to swear, with equal solemnity, that he would hold allegiance to William and Mary, who had thrust James from his throne. This, if oaths have any meaning, was sufficient to raise serious scruples of conscience.

He found himself in a strait between opposing difficulties. No doubt the late King had violated his coronation oath, that he would maintain unimpaired the Church of England,—to Ken the most sacred of all things upon earth. On the faith of that oath he, and all the Clergy, had sworn allegiance to him. Had not James broken this mutual compact? Ken himself had joined in thanks to the Prince, as the instrument of their deliverance from Popery : the estates of the realm had declared the crown to be forfeited by the one, and their decree had already placed the other in possession. Could he set up his own sense of their respective rights, against the voice of the nation, making himself judge on the difficult points of casuistry, involved in the claims of a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*, with the other political questions that followed

in their train? Again, the refusal of the new oath would involve him in an unequal contest with the temporal power, separate him from his flock,—deprive him of all influence in preserving true doctrine throughout his extensive diocese. It would, perhaps, expose him to persecution and imprisonment, certainly reduce him to poverty—above all, lead to a schism in the Church. Here were his love of peace, the law of obedience, long cherished friendships, his own personal safety and interests, and especially the cause of unity,—prompting him to submit. These, in their several degree, had induced the majority of the Bishops, and the great mass of the Clergy to yield acquiescence.

One simple fact, however, to his mind, outweighed them all. If he should forfeit his oath of fidelity to James, by transferring an allegiance, which he conscientiously believed to be irrevocable, he would peril his own soul. His plighted faith was not his own to barter away at any price; the awful words “so help me God,” sealed on the holy Evangelists, were registered in heaven, beyond the dispensing power of man. All, therefore, was as dust in the balance against the solemn sense of his duty, and of his account hereafter to be rendered. No interests could swerve him—no terrors shake him—no persuasions seduce him to do evil that good might come. There was a moral compulsion that bound him indissolubly. Archbishop Sancroft, and seven other Bishops adopted the same views.

Innumerable were the pamphlets, sermons, and books of controversy that issued from the press, to prove the legal obligation to take the new oath; and many were

the arguments, reservations, limits, and justifying pleas before magistrates, under which the Clergy in general were permitted, and even persuaded so to do. The greater number took the oath, on the ground that James had vacated, and forfeited the throne; many considered that by human and divine law allegiance was due to a King in actual possession; some were brought to acquiesce on the lower ground of living peaceably and quietly; others considered it as a temporary oath, intended to recall if ever James should recover his kingdom. All this the Non-jurors thought to be unreasonable: it was contrary to their sense of their duty, and they were content to suffer for the truth. It might be hard to make the world believe they acted only from religious motives: that was but of secondary importance; they resolved at all hazards to witness a good confession of what they thought right.

As the great bulk of the nation in numbers, influence, and wealth were willing to complete the work of the Revolution by taking the oaths, it might be thought a very little matter to the Government whether the rest assented, or not: but the fact was otherwise. All ranks of people felt a generous sympathy in the fate of the Bishops, who had so manfully withstood the late King's illegal acts. Parliament had recognized the value of their steadfastness by an unanimous vote of thanks.* It was felt that in their resistance to Popery they had acted as true Englishmen, heartily devoted to their country.

* Gutch's Coll. Curiosa, vol. i. p. 46.

Their inflexible adherence, in the former reign, to the faith they professed would have rendered them illustrious in any age: for what stronger testimony could men bear to the truth than to suffer imprisonment, as they had done, and incur the danger of deprivation, if not a worse fate, under a tyrant, backed by corrupt judges, and an irresistible military power? Their present scruples were known to be founded on a sense of duty, to which, as before, they were now again resolved to sacrifice their dearest interests. It was impossible not to admire such an example of fortitude, however men might differ as to the necessity for it. They were bright ornaments of the Church: and the Church of England is dear to Englishmen;—and ever will be, whatever their rulers, or sectarians, or seceders, may think: it wants only occasions, which may bring her into danger, to prove this. She may yet have to sustain the assaults of an Erastian power, that would fain subject her to a Parliamentary rule; but she bears a charmed life; for she is founded upon a rock,—and that Rock is Christ.

William, too, remembered the courageous endurance of these Bishops at the critical moment, when they were most conducive to the success of his own projects. Their present conduct, though adverse to his views, commanded his respect. We have several examples of his forbearance and magnanimity, in forgiving acts of treachery, even where he might have looked for a faithful attachment: he was not likely to be wanting in the same spirit towards men, who openly refused to serve him from a regard to conscience. Above all, it was his interest to conciliate every class: he knew the

hold these eminent men had on the public mind, and desired by a popular act of grace, to secure their influence. He had no reverence for prelacy, which he abolished in Scotland, though he desired to maintain it in England. Moreover, he had a sincere love for religious freedom. If he could obtain a repeal of the Test, and the admission of all Protestants, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, to offices of trust, he would willingly dispense with the oaths of the Bishops. He endeavoured to attain both these objects by clauses in the Bill for settling the new oaths. It was proposed that the Bishops should be relieved from taking them, unless tendered by the King in Council, which would both satisfy their consciences, and give him an effectual restraint on their conduct, if at any time they should interrupt the peace of his government. This project was frustrated by the mutual animosity of parties in the two houses; the Tories would not abandon the Test to favour the Dissenters; the Whigs retaliated by rejecting the clauses in favour of the Bishops. The only boon obtained was an authority to the crown to reserve for their use one third part of their revenues, after they were deprived. The Act finally required the Clergy to take the oath by the first of August, 1689, on pain of suspension from their offices: if they continued to refuse till the first of February, 1690, they were to be absolutely deprived.

The news of this Act having passed reached Ken in his Diocese, where he had been engaged, as usual, in the calm and zealous exercise of his pastoral duties.* It made no change in his views or conduct. The lay

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 267.

power might affect the temporalities of his See; but could not annul his spiritual office. It is true, the Church by being engrafted into the State is endowed with secular immunities, privileges and revenues: these are temporal acccessories, and may be withdrawn by the power which conferred them. The statute,* subjecting the Clergy to the King's authority, amongst other provisions, places the nomination of Bishops in his hands, and none can be chosen or consecrated without his sanction. The State, which framed the oath of allegiance, to be taken by all English Bishops and Clergy, had equal right now to enforce a like security: but no secular authority could ever depose them from their authority in the word and sacraments.

The maxims of politicians, lawyers, and Eraſtian writers, lay or clerical, on this point are simply null. The State, not having the power to confer Holy Orders, can neither suspend nor abrogate them. What, indeed, is the suspension of their exercise, but their virtual annulment? If the civil power is competent to this in one country, it is so, in its degree, throughout the world; and then where are the Apostles, and all missions, where is the Church Catholic, until Constantine? The spiritual trust is derived from a Commission above all earthly rulers, and therefore inalienable by any other sentence than that of the Church. For secular offences the Clergy may be punished by the magistrate; for spiritual offences the Church alone, by due synodical act, can deprive Bishops of their spiritual office. This mutual affinity of Church and State ex-

* 34 Henry VIII.

ists under their several well defined limits. It has for its object the maintenance of true religion, and through that the glory of God, and the welfare of all people. Neither the Crown, nor Parliament, of England can enact articles of belief, nor even the ceremonials of religion, without consent of the Clergy in Convocation; nor can one, or both, repeal these spiritual offices, which are committed to Christ's servants, consecrated by His command.

Ken, therefore, pursued his quiet course in the performance of his office. He filled up the vacant benefices, where he had the right to present; and collated to others.* He considered the day of death, and the day of judgment, to be as certain as the 1st of August, and the 1st of February, and acted accordingly: † his account was to be rendered to a higher than any earthly tribunal. We never find him making loud avowals of principle, nor even entering into any public defence of his conduct, except once or twice when some particular emergency compelled him; and then it was always in a few words of fact. He says in one of his letters, "I find it much easier silently to endure the passion of others, than to endeavour to mitigate it." Such was the temperateness of his views, that he was stated in one of the anonymous pamphlets of the day to have "been heard to declare that, although he could not satisfy his own scruples, yet he thought the English nation would be fools, if ever they suffered King James

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 28.

† Defence of the Profession, &c. of Lake, Bishop of Chichester, 1690, p. 9.

to return ; and hence it was concluded that he heartily wished he could be of the same mind with the rest of his brethren." * This was disproved by a long life of voluntary suffering, which he might at any time have changed for his former state of honour and affluence. He was in friendly intercourse with Sancroft and the other nonjuring Bishops, though he could not entirely concur with them : and several of the Prelates who took the oaths endeavoured to persuade him to follow their example. From the former, he says, " I differed in some things, but without breach of friendship, endeavouring to act uniformly to the moderate sentiments, which I could not exceed : " with the latter it was impossible he could agree ; though he gave them credit for acting conscientiously.

Two of his nonjuring friends, the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were soon called away from the troubles that were gathering round them. Their dying declarations may be taken as the index of his own willingness to suffer any extremity, rather than compromise his duty. Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, having called Dr. Hickes to his bed side, spoke thus to him ; " Mr. Dean, I was glad when I heard you was come home, for I longed to speak with you before I dyed ; for I perceive that I have but a short time to live. I bless God that I have twice suffered in the same righteous cause, and it is time for me now to dye, who have outlived the honour of my religion, and the liberties of my country. It hath been a great comfort to me in this general apostacy of my Clergy,

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 360.

whom I have endeavoured to keep upright and steady to their principles, that you have not forsaken me, but keep constant with me to the same principles. I have read all the books written for taking the oath ; in which I find the authors more Jesuits than the Jesuits themselves : and if my heart deceive me not, and the grace of God fail me not, *I think I could burn at a stake, before I took this new oath.* I pray God bless you, and reward your constancy. I desire your daily prayers.”*

Dr. Lake, of Chichester, declared himself still more emphatically, and in writing :

“ Being called by a sick, and I think, a dying bed, and the good hand of God upon me in it, to take the last and best viaticum, the Sacrament of my dear Lord’s body and blood, I take myself obliged to make this short recognition and profession :

“ That whereas I was baptized into the religion of the Church of England, and sucked it in with my milk, and have constantly adhered to it through the whole course of my life ; and now, if so be the will of God, shall dye in it : and *I had resolved, through God’s grace assisting me, to have dyed so, though at a stake.* And whereas that religion of the Church of England taught me the doctrine of non-resistance, and passive obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing character of the Church of England, I adhere no less firmly and steadfastly to that, and in consequence of it have incurred suspension from the exercise of my office,

* *Life of Kettlewell*, 8vo. 1718, p. 199.

and expected a deprivation. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction, *and if the oath had been tendered at the peril of my life, I could only have obeyed by suffering :*

“ I desire you, my worthy friends and brethren, to bear witness to this upon occasion, and to believe it, as the words of a dying man, and who is now engaged in the most sacred and solemn act of conversing with God in this world, and may, for ought he knows to the contrary, appear with these very words in his mouth at the dreadful tribunal: manu propria subscripti.

“ JOHANNES CICESTRENSIS.”*

We cannot say how these two devoted men would have acted in the after differences of the nonjurors, had they lived: but their last words spoke the mind of Ken, not only in their resolve against the oath, and their attachment to the Church of England, to which he afterwards bore equal testimony in his own memorable will, but also in their adherence to the doctrine of *Passive obedience*. The publishing their death bed avowals added yet more intensity to the disputes already so rife on this dogma: it was thought to be a direct reproach to those who had taken the oath, and called forth the whole pamphleteering forces of the press, which teemed with a phalanx of Animadversions, Defences, Sermons and Letters from all sides.

Passive obedience and Non-resistance were avowed

* Dr. Jenkins's Defence of the Profession, which the Right Rev. late Lord Bishop of Chichester made upon his death-bed, &c. 1690, p. 7.

principles in theology and politics, not in England only, or the times of the Stuarts, but throughout the universal Church, as a practical Christian duty, inculcated by the law of the Gospel. Endurance of wrongs, forbearance, gentleness, peace, subjection to the powers that be, are eternal laws of the Cross, and as such, bound upon all men, lay or clerical. But beyond this, it was an essential tenet, almost universally received in England after the Rebellion. A specific oath, enforcing the doctrine, had been incorporated into several Acts of Parliament in the reign of Charles II.* and so late as 1675 the House of Lords passed a Bill, making it imperative on every one, invested with office, to take an oath, which was called the 'Oath of Abhorrence against the traitorous position of taking arms against the King.' †

The principle of Passive obedience, whether right or wrong, was recognized, not by the Clergy only, but by all estates of the realm. It was, in fact, a political maxim, highly in fashion after the restoration of the monarchy,—a recoil from the republican theories, which had gained head under Cromwell. It exemplified the sudden extremes which will find expression, when the body politic is smarting under by-gone wrongs. Viewed with proper restrictions, it is a wholesome principle of government, — taken without limits, it is utterly untenable. Sancroft by his own conduct had proved it impracticable on a sudden emergency: when James fled from London he hurried into the city, and agreed with the Council of Peers in desiring the Prince

* Rapin, vol. ii. pp. 628, 629.

† Ibid. p. 677.

of Orange, then at the head of an invading army, to take measures for the safety of the kingdom. He and Ken, and the other Bishops, were willing to concur in a Regency, though it would have been an unquestionable blow against the prerogative, and an abandonment of the abstract principle of Passive obedience. To what precise point Ken professed this doctrine we are not told: in his letter to Burnet, he says, "it was a point with which I very rarely meddled." * We have already seen that, when James was at the height of his power, he practically withstood it: but when it was altogether cried down, and he would have been a gainer by absolving himself from it, he could not alter his judgment of its binding force.

To show how easy it was for men to disavow, when it was unpopular, the doctrine they had upheld, when in vogue, we need only point to the case of Dr. Tillotson. At the condemnation of Lord William Russell, in 1683, for the Rye House Plot, Tillotson was Dean of Canterbury, and a personal friend of his: as such he attended him to the scaffold. During his previous visits to him in the Tower, he found that Lord Russell was so great a lover of truthfulness, that he preferred to die a martyr to his principles of liberty, rather than acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance, which he did not hold. It was thought, if he yielded this point, Charles would grant him a pardon: but Russell was immovable. The Dean, on the other hand, held that the Christian religion plainly forbids the resistance of authority, and as one of Lord Russell's spiritual com-

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 33.

forters he thought it essential to his true repentance before death, to acknowledge this. Ruffel had received the Sacrament in a calm and devout temper; but Tillotson, under the apprehension that his peace of mind was not well grounded, wrote him a letter, as more likely to weigh with his deliberate thoughts than a transient discourse.

"The law," he says, "which establishes our religion declares *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms,*" &c: "the law of nature, and the general rules of Scripture, tie the hands of subjects: because the government and peace of society could not well subsist, if they were left at liberty: *this is the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches.* And I beg your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of the Protestants. My end in this is to convince your Lordship that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake, and being so convinced, that which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgment of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the reformed religion."* If Tillotson's creed, under the Stuarts, was grounded on this law of nature, the rule of Scripture, the Christian religion, and the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches, what be-

* Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, pp. 109, 110.

came of his friend William's title to the Crown, founded on an usurpation which overthrew them all? But when James was driven from the throne, the Dean was to be Archbishop of Canterbury: that could never have been, unless he yielded up his principles of non-resistance, which he accordingly did.

The same change had come over the political vision of Burnet. In the time of Charles, when the Stuarts were in the ascendant, the Doctor was a champion for Passive Obedience; but when it became convenient to wear the Orange scarf, and be made Bishop of Salisbury, he was a very Knight errant against every comer who should uphold that principle. No doubt Ken had an eye to both these Prelates when he wrote thus to Burnet; "many persons of our own coat, for several years together preached up Passive Obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgement of their past error, preach'd and acted the quite contrary."*

There is no ground for denying to Tillotson the right of adopting new opinions; only let our good Bishop, and his suffering Brethren, enjoy an equal liberty of conscience in maintaining theirs unchanged, at the sacrifice of every worldly advantage. And let the truth be understood, that Passive Obedience was the rule, not the exception in the previous reigns.

To return to the Oath of Allegiance: there were moments when Ken had misgivings as to the correctness of his own views in rejecting the new oath. This may serve to exemplify the difficulty of the question,

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 33.

and the candour of his mind, which did not obstinately disregard the reasons to be adduced on the other side. The deeds of fearful cruelty perpetrated in Ireland by James, and the assistance of armed forces lent him by Louis, caused a report to be spread that he had by a special instrument given over that country to France. This appears to have made Ken waver: he thought such an act would for ever dissolve the bond of union between James and all his subjects. Burnet says he came with his Chaplain to London, and resolved to go to the House of Lords and take the oaths. He afterwards received a letter from Burnet, expressing great concern that his standing out against the allegiance to William "was likely to prove fatal to the interests of the Church, as depriving them of one, who had served it with so much honour, especially at a moment when there were fair hopes of reforming several abuses." He charged him with having advised others to take the oath which he refused himself: "others have told me they read a Pastoral Letter, which you had prepared for your Diocese, and were resolved to print it; but when you went to London, your Lordship, it seems, changed your mind." Ken writes in reply:

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"MY Lord, I am obliged to your Lordship for the continued concern you express for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleased to take with me; and although I have already in public fully declared my mind to my Diocese concerning the Oath, to prevent my being misunderstood; yet since you seem to expect it of me, I will give such an account, which if it does

not satisfy your Lordship, will at least satisfy myself. I dare assure you, I never advised any one to take the oath; though some who came to talk insidiously with me may have rais'd such a report: so far have I been from it, that I never would administer it to any one person, whom I was to collate. And therefore before the act took place, I gave a particular commission to my Chancellor, who himself did not scruple it; so that he was authorized, not only to institute, but to collate in my stead. If any came to discourse with me about taking the oath, I usually told them I durst not take it myself. I told them my reasons, if they urged me to it, and were of my own Diocese: and then remitted them to their study and prayers for further direction. I did prepare a Pastoral Letter, which, if I had seen reason to alter my judgment, I thought to have publish'd; at least that part of it, on which I laid the greatest stress, to justify myself to my Flock; and before I went to London, I told some of my friends, that if *that* proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance (and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter) it would be an inducement to me to comply: but when I came to town, I found it was false; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burn't my paper, and adher'd to my former opinion."

Burnet in his letter had said that "some were so severe as to say that *other motives than conscience were at the bottom of his refusal*:" to which Ken replies, "if people who are very discerning, and know my own heart better than myself, have pronounc'd sentence upon me, that there is something else than conscience

at the bottom ; and if your Lordship gives credit to the many misrepresentations which are made of me, and which I being so us'd to, can easily disregard, you may reasonably enough be in pain for me : for to see one of your Brethren throwing himself headlong into a wilful Deprivation, not only of honor, and of income, but of a good conscience also, are particulars out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God I cannot accuse myself of any insincerity ; so that Deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for myself. I perceive that after we have been sufficiently ridicul'd, the last mortal stab design'd to be given us is to expose us to the world as men of no conscience ; and if God is pleas'd to permit it, His most holy will be done ; though what that particular corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in losing all we have, will be hard to determine."

He could not close his letter to Burnet, who exercised a powerful and pernicious influence in ecclesiastical matters, without an appeal to him on behalf of the Church of Scotland. Its fate had been already decided, and was at the date of this letter in the very act of being accomplished. Ken says, " I heartily join with your Lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church ; and I shall conceive great hopes, that God will have compassion on her, if I see that she compassionates and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace, and that charity ; I can myself only con-

tribute to both by my prayers, and by my deprecations against schism, and against sacrilege.

“THO. BATH AND WELLS.”

“October 5, 1689.”

This letter exhibits the moral habit of Ken's mind, a simple courage, ready for every trial in the line of his duty,—“*in no pain at all for himself* ;”—a tender conscience, and willingness to retract any erroneous opinions,—a candid regard for the honest scruples of others who might differ from him. Of all this we have about the same time another striking instance in what passed between himself and his old friend Dr. Hooper. He was staying at Hooper's house, in Lambeth, shortly after the Revolution ; the general subject of conversation was the Oath of Allegiance, and submission to the new government, to which Dr. Hooper earnestly endeavoured to persuade the Bishop.* “On parting one night to go to bed, the Bishop seemed so well satisfied with the arguments Dr. Hooper urged to him, that he was inclined to take the Oaths.”† But the next morning he used these expressions to him ;—“I question not but that you, and several others have taken the oaths with as good a conscience as myself shall refuse them ; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used ; but I beg you to urge them no further ; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world.”‡ Upon which the Dr. said he

* Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper.

† Ibid.

‡ Hawkins, p. 30.

would never mention the subject any more to him, for God forbid he should take them." *

Sancroft, and the other non-juring Bishops, were much alarmed, lest Hooper's influence might induce Ken to take the oath. Turner writes to the Archbishop on Ascension Day, 1689, "when I took my leave yesternight I had no thought of waiting upon you till this day evening; but when I came home I found a letter to Mrs. Gregg from the Bp. of B. and W. and this advertisement in it for me. 'Tell my friend I will meet him at dinner at Lambeth, upon Sunday.' I suppose he does not know Your Grace has left off dining publicly, as you have great reason to do. But since, my Lord, you are pleased to give every one of your sons a day, as you obligingly express it, I must needs say, the sooner we meet our brother of Bath the better, for I must no longer in duty conceal from your Grace, tho' I beseech you to keep it in terms of a secret, that this very good matter is, I fear, warping from us, and the true interests of the Church of England, towards a compliance with the new Government. I received an honest letter from him, and a friendly one, wherein he argues very wrong to my understanding, but promises and protests he will keep himself disengaged till he debates things over again with us, and that he was coming up again for that purpose. My Lord Bishop of Norwich has seen such another letter from him to my Lord of Gloucester; and upon the whole matter our Bishop of Norwich, if your Grace thinks fit, will meet us on

* Prowse's MS. *Life of Hooper*.

Saturday. I must needs wish my Lord of Chichester would be there to help us; for it w^d be extremely unhappy should we at this pinch lose one of our number. I apprehend that parson of Lambeth has superfin'd upon our brother of B. and W. and if he lodges again at his house, I shall doubt the consequence, for which reason I'll come over on Saturday morning to invite him to my country house."

As the time drew on for his deprivation, the people of his Diocese became more deeply affected at the thought of losing their revered Pastor. His zeal for their welfare, and his mild and loving government of them, were the more valued, the nearer their danger of losing him. The Clergy therefore united in an earnest Petition to the King on behalf of himself, the Archbishop, and the other Prelates under censure, praying that "they might not be deprived of their revenues and dignity, but restored to the administration of their functions." It sets forth "the great reason the Petitioners had to bless God for those their ecclesiastical Governors, by whose ghostly wisdom and directions they have been all along greatly edified, and by whose religious conduct and exemplary constancy they were, through the providence of God, so lately preserved in perilous times, and for whose sufferings and imminent dangers they were then deeply afflicted. We cannot but entertain so much filial tenderness and dutiful affection for them, as passionately to entreat that the Church may not suffer so great a loss as to be deprived of them, nor they be wholly excluded from the comforts of the great deliverance which we owe to your Majesty, to which they, by a generous and seasonable

exposing themselves for the common safety, did eminently contribute.”*

If this ever reached the King's hands, it was not likely to carry much weight. The question of the deprivals rested on other grounds: like every thing else, it was to be tested and resolved by political expediency. William calmly held the balance between the opposite weights of party; of whose violence we may form some notion from the heat and rancour of the pamphlets which were constantly appearing. Many busy persons, and especially those who rejoiced in any attack on the Church, endeavoured to inflame the public against the Bishops. Still their cause rather gained ground at Court, as well as in the country. William had already been galled by the opposition of his former friends: he saw amidst the jarring elements of political strife the selfishness that made the general interests secondary to the personal objects of each. Contrasted with this, the conscientious scruples of the Non-jurors, however, in his opinion mistaken, seemed to claim indulgence. He was convinced that, if they could be conciliated, they would greatly promote the stability of his Government. When he first came over to England, he could have known little of Episcopacy, except in the Roman Catholic form, which was most repugnant to his ideas: allowance is to be made for early prejudices, which were afterwards modified by his intercourse with the English Bishops.† When he dif-

* Bowles, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Trevor's *Life of William*, vol. ii. p. 84.

solved his first Parliament, early in 1690, Lord Clarendon says, "several of my friends were with me in the afternoon, and told me the King had declared himself for the Church of England, and had given public encouragement to all gentlemen, who took leave of him upon going into the country to choose Church of England men."* At the opening of the new Parliament, he declares in his speech, penned by himself, that "the Church of England is one of the greatest supports of the Protestant religion in general, for the defence whereof I am ready again to venture my life."†

The Queen was firmly attached to the Church; she had a personal regard for Ken, her former Chaplain at the Hague, and the highest esteem for Sancroft's character. Notwithstanding all questions, "the Archbishop was permitted to continue at Lambeth Palace, where he maintained the same attendance and splendour of establishment he had formerly done; and during the whole of this period he constantly received visits from the nobility, and others with whom he had lived in habits of intercourse, and was treated with marks of respect by persons of every rank."‡

The 1st of February, 1690, was already past, within which the law required the Clergy to take the new oath of allegiance to William: still no measures were adopted against the Bishops to enforce the penalty: they were left in quiet possession of their revenues, in the hope that they might come round. But an inci-

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 299.

† Trevor's Life of William, vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ Doyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 449.

dent occurred soon after, likely to injure them in the judgment of all lovers of peace. A day of national fast had been proclaimed for the 12th of March ; to be repeated on the third Wednesday of every month, for the success of the forces in Ireland. Special prayers were appointed for the personal safety of William, who was to take the command. Either some Roman Catholics, or some violent Jacobites, took this occasion to distribute many thousand copies of a form of prayer for King James, as a substitute for the other. It does not mention him by name ; but the whole tenor of the paper sufficiently exposed its real object. Amongst other things, it prays, “ Restore to us the public worship of thy name, the reverend administration of thy Sacraments ; raise up the former government both of Church and State, that we may be *no longer* without King, without Priest, and without God in the world. Send forth thy light and thy truth, and let them preserve us. Protect and defend thy servant, our Sovereign Lord the King. Be thou unto him a helmet of salvation, &c. Give him the neck of his enemies, and also every day more and more the hearts of his subjects. As for those that are implacable, clothe them with shame ; but upon himself and his Posterity let the Crown flourish.”*

The prayers would seem to bear internal evidence of being penned by a Roman Catholic : they speak of restoring public worship, and the reverend administration of the Sacraments, which in the English Church had never been suspended ; and insinuate that the na-

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 95.

tion had no longer a Priesthood, which was obviously untrue, as applied to any other than the Romish Church, whose worship, and Sacraments, and Priesthood had all been suppressed. The Bishops, however, were accused by party writers of being the authors or abettors of this new Liturgy. They did not think it necessary to put forth any denial of the charge, until the appearance, some months afterwards, of a scurrilous pamphlet, which included this accusation, with others still more improbable.

The title was 'A MODEST ENQUIRY into the present disasters: and who they are that brought the French fleet into the English Channel describ'd.' It was full of outrageous charges against the peaceful Bishops, who are called "the Reverend Club of Lambeth," "the Holy Jacobite Club," "our high flown Passive Obedience men," "the Œcumenick Council of the whole party, &c." The author was incontestably a furious dissenter. He attacks the Prelates (more disliked for their Prelacy than their persons) because they would not take the oath; but is equally scandalized at the Clergy who did, and whom he accuses "of cheating the world with ridiculous and foolish distinctions, and playing fast and loose with Almighty God." In another part, speaking of the Clergy as a class, he calls them "wretches, great contrivers and managers of cabals, who by their Profession are for the most part extraordinarily credulous." He triumphantly reminds the Bishops, whom he calls "our High Priest, and the rest of the Gang," of their "*beloved power to trample on the Dissenters, who are now out of their clutches.*"

This energetic writer calls the new prayers "the great guns" of the Bishops—who were "marshalling a great many of King James' officers and cashier'd gentlemen," and "levying no inconsiderable sums of money for a final insurrection." Amongst the collectors for the "Holy Club," "there must be *one Fellow* that eat King William's bread," (meaning Ken at the Hague) and "one of his arts was to persuade silly old women to tell down their dust for carrying on so pious a work," namely, "to work a mine under ground, in order to a general assault."

But "the great gun," which these soldiers in lawn were "thus furiously playing," was no less than inviting over the French King, and holding constant correspondence with Monsieur de Croisie. The Modest Enquirer gives a copy of a supposed address to Louis XIV. sent over by our high Priest and the rest of the gang, which he says "was discovered of late by a certain person." It begins, "Great and invincible Monarch! The resplendent rays of your Majesty's virtues have render'd all the world your adorers! and that inherent goodness of which your Majesty stands so transcendently possess'd, does render you the only sanctuary of all the distress:" &c. &c.

We need not follow the libel much farther: but it deserved a notice for the sake of the answer put forth to it. The writer's object ekes out in his suggestion that the Bishops should be "*De Witted*,"—that is treated in the same way as the De Witts, whom the mob at Amsterdam had massacred in 1672, dragging their bodies about the town, on the false charge of a plot against the life of William, soon after he had been

elected Stadtholder. Hence the offensive term came to be well understood in Holland and England to mean massacred. "The truth is," (says the Modest Enquirer) "it is a wonder, the English nation, upon the affront that has befallen them, in being forced to turn their backs to the French at sea, have not in their fury *De Witted* some of these men, who have brought all this upon us. And I must tell them that the crimes of the two unhappy brothers in Holland (which gave rise to that word) were not fully so great as some of theirs."

The pamphlet made a great noise; and as the Form of Prayer, or New Liturgy, with other grave charges, were thus openly brought against the Bishops, it behoved them, as lovers of peace, to give an unqualified denial. Ken, at least, was no member of the imaginary "Lambeth Club." He had remained, where he most loved to be, in his Diocese, except for short intervals, when his advice was required by his Brother Bishops. Indeed about this time he appears to have been drinking the Bath waters: * but came to town on the present emergency, and the following paper was quickly decided upon, and published under the title of a

"VINDICATION, &c."

"Whereas in a late pamphlet, entitled 'A Modest

* "The Rt. Rev^d. Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells drank the waters at the King's Bath 1690, in the month of Sept. and received benefit.

"Orlando Pain, being troubled with a filthy leprosy, sent to the Bath, and maintained there by Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells all the winter, 1690: in 14 weeks' use of the hot and lepers Bath received cure." Thomas Guidott, Register of Bath, containing an account of cures, &c. 2nd Ed. 1724, p. 377, 378.

Enquiry into the causes of the present distresses, &c.' we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, are among others represented as the authors and abettors of England's miseries; and under the abusive names of the Lambeth Holy Club, the Holy Jacobite Club, and the Œcumenick Council of the whole Party, are charged with a third Plot, and with the composing of a new Liturgy, and using it in our cabals; and whereas the Clergy, such of them as are styled malcontents, are said (together with others) to have presented a memorial to the King of France, to persuade him to invade England; and are also affirmed to have kept a constant correspondence with M. de Croissy in order thereunto.

" We do here solemnly, *as in the presence of God*, protest and declare.

" 1. That these accusations cast upon us are all of them malicious calumnies, and diabolical inventions; that we are innocent of them all; and we defy the libeller, whoever he be, to produce, if he can, any legal proof of our guiltiness therein.

" 2. That we know not who was the author of the new Liturgy, as the libel calls it; that we had no hand in it, either in the club, cabal or otherwise; nor was it composed, or published by our order, consent, or privacy; nor hath it been used at any time by us or any of us.

" 3. That neither we, nor any of us, ever held any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with M. de Croissy, or with any minister or agent of France: and if any such memorial, as the libel mentions, was ever really presented to the French King, we never knew

anything of it, nor anything relating thereto. And we do utterly renounce both that, and all other invitations suggested to be made by us, in order to any invasion of this kingdom by the French.

“ 4. That we utterly deny, and disavow all plots charged upon us, or contrived or carried on, in our meetings at Lambeth; the intent thereof being to advise how, in our present difficulties, we might best keep consciences void of offence towards God and towards man.

“ 5. That we are so far from being the authors or abettors of England’s miseries (whatever the spirit of lying and calumny may vent against us) that we do, and shall to our dying hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the peace, prosperity and glory of England; and shall always, by God’s grace, make it our daily practice to study to be quiet, to bear our crosses patiently, and to seek the good of our native country.

“ Who the author of this libel is we know not: but whoever he is, we desire, as our Lord hath taught us, to return him good for evil: he barbarously endeavours to raise in the whole English nation such a fury, as may end in *De Witting* us (a bloody word, but too well understood). But we recommend him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him. We have all of us, not long since, either actually or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in opposing Popery and arbitrary power in England: and we shall by God’s grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have, and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power of France, from coming

upon us, and prevailing over us; the persecution of our Protestant brethren there being still fresh in our memories. It is our great unhappiness that we have not opportunity to publish full and particular answers to those many libels, which are industriously spread against us. But we hope that our country will never be moved to hate us without a cause, but will be so just and charitable to us, as to believe this solemn protestation of our innocence.

“ Signed W. Cant.

W. Norwich.

Printed in the year 1690.

B. Ely.

Tho. Bath and Wells.

Tho. Petreburgh.”

The MODEST ENQUIRY was extensively circulated, and may be found in the 2nd vol. of State Tracts, and yet the Bishops were refused a license to publish their VINDICATION. The rulers of the day, so loud in praise of liberty, would not permit any indulgence, or freedom of the press. Sancroft complains of this in one of his letters. “ We are daily oppressed in our consciences, in our property, and in our liberty, contrary to our old laws, and even their own too, while Papists, Quakers, Arians, and Hereticks, of all sorts are free. When a bloody rabble were (in print) encouraged to tear us in pieces, there was no more notice taken of it, than if the country-people had been getting together to dispatch a wolfe, or a mad dog: and the Government were so far from protecting us, y^t they would not suffer us to defend ourselves. You know what objections (I might say cavils) were rais’d against the short and modest Vindication; so in fine we could

not get it licens'd to the press; and you remember how barbarously we were used for it afterwards." *

It is hardly worth while to show the severity exercised towards the Nonjurors, and the measures taken to seize their publications in the printing houses, and break up the press; one instance, from Sancroft's letters may however be given. "To suppress our books, and oppress (instead of answering) those that write them, and to destroy the very press itself too, is like the cruelty forbidden by Moses, to destroy not only the eggs, and young ones in the nest, but the Dam also that sits upon them. It is a great comfort that the last Bird which was hatched there (of the true noble Eyrie, and a gallant high Flier) is fledg'd and flown, and will fill the whole forest with such notes, of which the Pies and Daws (that like it not) will never be able to drown the music."† He alludes to Henry Dodwell's "Vindication of the Deprived Bishops."

Though the Government refused a license, the Bishops succeeded in getting their Vindication printed. It soon found its way to the public, and to their convictions: for it gained implicit credence, and brought confusion on the author of the injurious pamphlet. It gave the Bishops an opportunity of bringing home to people's minds their former sufferings, and how they had hazarded all in opposing Popery and arbitrary power. The false charge against them, as generally happens when an accusation is proved to be malicious, resulted in a fuller persuasion of the purity of their motives in the matter of the oath.

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters. † Ibid.

Finding that all classes, except the enemies to the Church, were anxious some measure should be devised to excuse them from the Oath, the Government did what they could towards it. The Bishops of London and St. Asaph had before been sent to the Archbishop "to know what he and the rest would do to prevent being deprived: could they take no steps towards the Government? some expedients they proposed, as that a Bill should be passed, giving the King power to dispense with the Oaths during pleasure." Again, some months later, taking with them the Bishop of Bangor, they delivered another message from the King, that "he would continue them in their Sees, and not put any others in their places; that they should enjoy their revenues, and that the King would make their Receivers his Receivers, to collect and pay the rents to themselves."† Burnet also was now again sent by the Queen to a nobleman, who had great credit with the deprived Bishops, "to try whether, if Parliament could be brought to dispense with their taking the Oaths, they would go on, and do their functions, ordain, confirm, assist at prayers and Sacraments, give institutions, and visit their Dioceses."‡ Surely nothing could be more reasonable than such a proposal: for, as Burnet says, "these are the great duties of the Episcopal Function; and it seemed an extravagant thing to have Bishops in a Church, who should perform none of them, but should only live in their Sees, and enjoy their revenues."§

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 297. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 299.

‡ Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 102. § Ibid. p. 103.

Had Ken's moderate counsels prevailed, this proposal would have been accepted. Throughout the whole controversy he advocated measures of peace: "I confess," he says, "I never was for extremities, which I soon thought would prove of fatal consequences; but I find that others, who always were and still are for them, think but hardly of me."* — The Archbishop was influenced by Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, and White of Peterborough. Looking upon William as an Usurper, and James still as head of the Church, to whom only they could pay any homage, they gave an answer fatal to the Church's interests: they said "they would do nothing: if the King thought fit, for his own sake, that they should not be deprived, he must make it his business; they could not vary from what they had done. And besides they were not now all together; and therefore they could make no other answer."†

Ken had returned to Wells: like the needle to the loadstone, he was always drawn to the sphere of his Diocese: and he would now make the most of the short time which the law would probably allow him. His diligence and zeal were untiring, so long as he was permitted to act. He maintained his friendly relations with the Clergy of his See (however much he differed from them as to the Oaths, which almost every one of them had taken) and still more he laboured among the meaner of his flock, who had none of these vexed questions to settle. After two months the nobleman, to whom Burnet had been sent (the Earl of

* Round, p. 59.

† Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 299.

Rocheſter) told him that “ he had obeyed the Queen’s commands with zeal, and all the ſkill he had ; but the Biſhops would answer nothing, and promiſe nothing, only he believed they would be quiet. So all thoughts of bringing that matter again into Parliament were laid aſide ; yet their Majeſties proceeded in it ſlowly, and ſeemed unwilling to fill their Sees.”*

But a ſtorm was gathering in a quarter that Ken could leaſt expect : towards the end of this year his earlieſt friend, Francis Turner, was drawn into a ſcheme which nothing could juſtify or palliate: he had engaged, with Lord Preſton, and many other malcontents, in a plot un-Engliſh and un-Chriſtian ; no leſs than to bring back King James by aid of a French army, which muſt have ſpread deſolation through the country. Turner had but lately diſclaimed all thoughts of French intervention : he had declared his only deſire was “ to keep a conſcience void of offence, to ſtudy to be quiet, and to bear his croſs patiently.” It is unaccountable that he ſhould ſo ſoon forget all theſe profeſſions, and compromiſe his own character, and that of his Brethren ?

It is vain to aſſert, that this plot was but pretended. The proofs are irrefragable that the ſcheme was deeply laid ; and had it been accompliſhed, confuſion and bloodſhed were the certain reſults. The Government being apprized of the conſpiracy, Lord Preſton, and one Aſhton, were ſeized on their paſſage to France, and a packet of letters for King James was found upon them : amongſt others, were two from the Biſhop of Ely, in which he ſays “ I ſpeak in the plural, becauſe

* Biſhop of Sarum’s Vindication, p. 104.

I write my elder brother's sentiments, as well as my own, and the rest of the family, though lessen'd in number."* Burnet seems to admit that Turner wrote without any authority from the Archbishop,† who might, however, have sympathized in the object: as for "the rest of the family" (meaning the other Bishops) no one for a moment suspected Ken. Many noblemen, even of those who had been William's early adherents, were engaged in the plot. The Bishop of Ely absconded for a while, and in spite of a Proclamation, and a reward offered for his discovery, eluded pursuit. Writing of this to Lloyd, Sancroft in his sprightly way gives us some notion of Turner's remarkable physiognomy, which he was afraid would betray him. "Your Lordship whispered something in my ear, about a fortnight since, concerning our good Brother Francis of Ely, which makes me tremble whenever I think of it. For tho', as Bishop Lancy (who was much in London during the great Rebellion) was wont to say, "London is a great wood, where he that would hide himself may most probably be concealed; yet our friend is a very remarkable person, and one universally known and acquainted; and should he travest himself into what habit he will, or spread a Patriarchal Beard, or cover all with any sort of Peruke you can fancy; still there will be something that may discover him. Not of late only, but of old, the παράσημον of the vessel, the sign by which 'twas known, was in the Prow, or *Beak*: Acts 28. 11. The only

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 715.

† Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 98.

comfortable reflection in this case is, that God can hide whom he pleaseth in the hollow of his hand, or in the secret of his presence; and though the King and his Ministers sought Jeremiah, and Baruch to take him, yet the Lord hid him. May it be still so with our Friend." *

Turner and the others owed their safety to the characteristic calmness of William, who overlooked the treason of professing friends, and open foes. Lord Preston, tempted by a pardon, was examined in the King's presence. He named amongst his associates the Duke of Ormond, Lords Dartmouth, Macclesfield, Brandon, and Mr. Penn the Quaker; and added that Penn told him that, although Lord Dorset, and Lord Devonshire had not attended the Conferences, they were of the party. He offered to name others of the great Whig families. Lord Caermarthen, who had formerly, and lately, been persecuted by that party, eagerly pushed him on, bidding him go to the bottom of the Conspiracy. But the King, who stood behind Caermarthen's chair, and was then leaning over it, touched him upon the shoulder, saying 'My Lord, there is too much of this;' and with equal prudence and generosity drew a veil over offences, into which the best of his subjects had been too hastily betrayed."† It was a rare instance of clemency: whether it were the dictate of foresight, or the impulse of generous magnanimity, it deserves to be held in honour. One of William's distinguishing qualities was a disregard of

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Dalrymple Memoirs, p. 467.

praise, which he generally set down to the score of flattery ; another was, indifference to the dislikes of men, which he always ascribed to their own interests. The nature of men who have been long and intently engaged in political strife becomes selfish ; but William, though he seldom showed any tenderness of heart, or refinement of feeling, was at least free from the stain of vindictiveness.

We cannot be surprized that this event should seal the deprivation of the Nonjuring Bishops. They had rejected all the overtures made to them ; and the late conspiracy convinced the government that the oath of allegiance, to be taken by all who held places of trust, was a necessary precaution for the public safety. Nevertheless, one more attempt was made to compromise. It was proposed early in April, 1691, that the Bishops should make a declaration of innocence in the matter of the late conspiracy, and that a part of their revenues should be still allowed them. This was intimated to White, of Peterborough, who promised that he and Lloyd would consult the Archbishop, Ken not being in London. Sancroft thus records his views : “ 1st. I see no reason why we should declare anything concerning a surmise, which is so far from affecting us, that ’tis not as yet prov’d upon the Bp. of Ely.—So that, should we fall a-declaring and purging ourselves, before we are charg’d in form, men and angels will hardly be able to pen anything, that will not be liable to a hundred cavills, and in fine prove a snare to us. 2nd. As to the regaining any of our revenues, ’tis *spes improba* to expect it can ever be ; and to be sure not without petitioning, which will be another great snare ; and at

laſt be peremptorily deny'd (w^h nobody I think is in love with) or clog'd with ſome curſed-condition, which will leave us in a worſe condition than we were in before we ſtirr'd in it: not to conceal what the Bp^x told me (I think from the ſame Gent) that our revenues are already iſſued out of the Exchequer into the privy purſe, and from thence to a certain vertuous Ladie, '*et ab inferno nulla redemptio.*' While we were together, the Bp. of London came in, and we were all two hours together. *O quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!* ſo kind and debonaire, and ſo obliging, that it would have pleas'd you to obſerve it. But what paſt may be apt of our converſation to-morrow, if Tho. of P. can prevaile with you to come. In the mean time and ever I remain

“ Your's moſt unfaindly

“ April, 91.”

“ W. C.” *

As nothing could move the Biſhops from their purpoſe, a liſt was made of their intended Succeſſors. Sancroft had accurate intelligence of what was paſſing at Court. Writing again to Lloyd he ſays, “ Yeſterday St. Aſaph, and Teniſon, having dined with my Lord Clarendon in the Tower, came hither in the afternoon. I ſoon ſaw in the Biſhop's ſolemn gravity what news he was big with: but ſtaved him off for half an hour with common diſcourſe, as briſk as I could contrive it. But at laſt, out it muſt come; and then I let him ſee that I knew more than he knew, or at leaſt pretended to know: though Teniſon confirm'd all my particulars. Your liſt is right through-

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

out, add only that Talbot (the Earl of Shrewsbury's brother) is Dean of Sarum. Yesternight the Bp. of London,* knowing nothing of these promotions, was ready to enter the Council Chamber, when a friend pull'd him by the sleeve, and show'd him the whole scheme; whereupon he retreated. Our absent Brethren without all doubt will know the present Resolutions taken against them (and so will all England) before our letters can come to them; nor do I affect to be the teller of ill news; tho' some others do, as it seems by what I wrote a little before. When they know it, it will be best, I think, to leave their coming up, or not, to their own resolutions; especially till we have resolved ourselves (with the Dr's. advice) that we may have something to propound to them.

† " In the mean time I am ever

" Your faith. Friend and Brother

" W. C."

* Compton, who expected to be made Archbishop.

† Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Ken is deprived of his Bishopric—Makes a public assertion in Wells Cathedral of his canonical right, and retires—His Poverty—Lord Weymouth affords him an asylum at Long Leat.



HE deprivals of the Non-juring Bishops, which had been delayed for a year beyond the limits of the act, were at length permitted to take their course. Dr. D'Oyly gives the particulars of Sancroft's ejection from Lambeth. In the case of Ken, some months' delay still intervened, from the difficulty of finding any one who would accept his Bishopric. It was first offered to Dr. Beveridge, one of the most pious and learned of the clergy, who, though he had taken the oaths to William and Mary, had the highest reverence for Ken's character, and held that a lay deprivation was beyond the limits of the civil power, and therefore uncanonical. He deliberated for three weeks, and then stedfastly refused the appointment.*

Sancroft, who was very unforgiving towards any who took the oaths, doubted the sincerity of Beveridge's scruples. Writing to Lloyd on the 28th of

* "Tribus Septimanis meditando Episcopari noluit." Kennett's Collections. Lansdown MSS. 987.

April, 1691, he says, "yesterday Dr. B. was with me, and gave me a long account of his averfenefs from accepting the See of B. & W. because the Bp. is his old friend, &c: and then askt my advice. I having first told him, 'if I should give it, you will not follow it,' yet did give it plain words, and backt it with reasons, that I think might be sufficient. But I believe they'll have noe effect upon him: for all was but a copie of his countenance. You shall have all that passed on Friday, or when we meet next."*

As late as the 30th of May, Sancroft expresses his "wonder that the severity goes not on to our poor Brother of B. and W. I am afraid he cannot long escape it." And again, "'tis a wonder nothing is done against our good Brother of B. and W. But I am afraid that at last *tarditatem supplicii atrocitate ei compensabunt*. For they are very stoicks: *nesciunt misereri, vel parcere*."† At length the Bishopric was offered to Dr. Richard Kidder, Dean of Peterborough, a learned Hebrew scholar, and a man of blameless life. He also entertained scruples, and for some time declined to succeed a deprived Bishop. He did not agree with Beveridge in thinking it unlawful; but he "knew very well he should be able to do less good, if he came into a Bishopric void by deprivation." He has left us a full record of his difficulties. "I received," he says, "a letter from Dr. Tillotson, to announce that the Queen had nominated me to Bath and Wells. I was, upon the reading of it, in such trouble and consternation, as I have seldom been in during my whole

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Ibid.

life. I saw the strait I was in. If I took this Bishopric, I well knew I must meet with great trouble and envy. If I refused, I knew the consequence of that also, especially Dr. Beveridge having so lately done it. After some days I return'd my answer, and 'twas to this effect; that unless her Majesty would excuse me, and think of some other person, I would accept the bishopric. And this I did, not perhaps as wisely as I should. I cannot say I did it against my conscience; but of this I am sure, that since I have considered things better I should not have done it, were it to do again. I did not consult my ease. I have often repented of my accepting it, and looked on it as a great infelicity."*

Ken soon received intelligence of the appointment. "Dr. Kidder is now said to be my successor, or rather supplanter. He is a person of whom I have no knowledge. God of his infinite goodness multiply his blessings on yourself, and on my good friends with you, and enable us to do and suffer his most holy will." He was then on his way to his nephew, Izaak Walton, Junior, at Poulshot, who had taken the oaths: "to his house I am now, God willing, going for some time, partly for my health, partly to avoid that cloud under which I lye (and chiefly from my brethren, God forgive them for it) as having done all that is proper for me to do to assert my character, the doing of which has created me many enemies, as I expected it would."† This is in allusion to the censures of his

* Bowles, vol. ii. p. 211.

† Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 42.

over zealous brethren, the other deprived Bishops, because he had continued to exercise his functions.*

On the other hand, amidst the rumours that were afloat, some were led to say that he had failed in properly asserting his pastoral rights at the time of his deprivation. Burnet charges this against them all, and Sancroft in particular: "he never took upon him to act with his archiepiscopal authority. He never stood upon his right, nor complained of wrong in any public act or protestation."† And again "he never by any public and express act declared himself; and all the rest followed his example, and continue to this day silent." This is incorrect, as applied to Ken: we have his own denial of the charge, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Harbin.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"Good Mr. Harbin,

"You tell me that Mr. Pitts censures the deprived Bishops for not asserting their rights in a public manner at their deprivation. If he puts me among the number, he does me wrong; for I, at the time, *in my cathedral*, which was the proper place, *from my Pastoral Chair*, publicly asserted my canonical right, professing that I esteemed myself the Canonical Bishop of the Diocese, and that I would be ready, on all occasions, to perform my pastoral duties.

"I professed that not being able to make this decla-

* "Kennus interim exauكتورatus munus episcopale aliquandiu exercere ausus est, conciones palam habendo, et pueros in Ecclesiis confirmando." Landdown MSS. Brit. Musæ. 987.

† The Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 97.

ration to the whole diocese, I made it virtually to all by making it in the *Market Square*. What others of my brethren did I know not ; but I acted as uniformly as I could. God keep us in his holy fear.

“ Your affectionate friend and brother,

“ T. B. AND W.*”

Thus it was he took leave of his people : the same crowds, who but six short years before had welcomed him to the Pastoral Chair, now assembled with heavy hearts, and tearful eyes, to hear him from the same place of authority assert his canonical rights, consecrated, as they had been, by a zealous and devoted exercise of them,—to receive his farewell blessing, and his promise of never-ceasing prayers on their behalf. How endeared to his flock must such a man have been, living constantly amongst them ! how unspeakably valuable his endeavours, “ according to his poor abilities, to teach them the knowledge and the love of God.”† By his example and counsels he had been a solace to the afflicted, and the support of humble souls, overwhelmed with the burthen of conscious sin ; to all a ghostly father, benefactor, and friend ; God’s almoner, and the dispenser of His grace.

There may be something poetical, but not therefore less true, in the picture which Mr. Bowles has drawn of the Bishop’s departure from his palace. “ We can easily conceive with what prayers of the poor, and how beloved and regretted, Ken bad farewell to the

* Round’s *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 44.

† *Dedication of the Practice of Divine Love*.

Dioceſe and flock ſo dear to him, to the Palace at Wells, the retired gardens, and the ſilent waters that ſurrounded them ; to the towers, and to the devotional harmonies of his Cathedral. Surely it would be no ſtretch of imagination to conceive, that, on the draw-bridge, as he paſſed, on leaving the abode of independence and peace, a crowd of old and young would be aſſembled, with claſped hands and bleſſings, to bid him farewell. Mild, complacent, yet dignified, on retiring with a peaceful conſcience from opulence and ſtation to dependence and poverty, as the morning ſhone on the turreted Chapel, we naturally imagine he may have ſhed only one tear when looking back on thoſe intereſting ſcenes. Perhaps his eye might have reſted on the pale faces of ſome of the poor old men and women who had partaken their Sunday dinner ſo often, and heard his diſcourſe, in the old hall : then, and not before, we may conceive,

“ Some natural tears he dropp’d, but wiped them ſoon,
The world was all before him, where to ſeek
His place of reſt, and Providence his guide.”*

Dr. Kidder was conſecrated on the 30th of Auguſt, 1691, and in September following went down to Wells, and was inſtalled in perſon. Meanwhile Ken had withdrawn, being ſatiſfied to have made his public proteſt from the Paſtoral Chair in his Cathedral, and at the Market Square. Having dedicated his all to charity, he had made no proviſion for himſelf : he had literally fulfilled the command of his heavenly Lord,

* Bowles's *Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 174.

“take no thought for to-morrow.” Hawkins says, “his charity was so extensive, and he had so little regard to future contingencies, that when he was deprived by the State, *all his effects, by the sale of his goods*, excepting his books (which he never sold) would amount to no more than seven hundred pounds.”* It is a rare example of simple faith: the best of us are fearful of being dependent; to lay by something seems due to ourselves, and to friends whom we should have to rely upon in case of absolute need. But Ken had saved nothing: he had given away all but the furniture of his palace, and some horses that were indispensable for his journeys.

The world might think his poverty the hardest part of his lot, — his voluntary submitting to this, rather than yield his principles, the surest mark of his devotedness. It was in truth the least of his cares. Deeper wounds caused his sufferings, for they reached him through the bosom of the Church. The schism, occasioned by the uncanonical deprivals, and his being forced of necessity to leave his people to the guidance of a “Traditor,” were his real anguish. The general laxity of discipline, and the neglect of services, — the Erastian principles, which had already begun to prevail in the Government of the Church, and have gone on increasing to this our day, were harder to endure than his expulsion from hearth and home. Poverty fell light upon him; for he had lived secretly poor in the outward state of a palace, chastening his desires by

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 22.

habits of mortification and self-denial. They only suffer from the loss of luxuries, who have trained themselves to the use of them. Ken had followed the footsteps of his Master, mortifying his appetites in the midst of abundance; he seemed to enjoy a nearer approach to him, now that he was going forth without a place he could call his own.

But God had provided for him "a covert from the tempest, the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." He put it into the heart of Viscount Weymouth to bear him a message of comfort—the offer of a home in his noble mansion of Long Leat. This was his former College companion, Thomas Thynne, who had been since raised to the peerage by Charles II. Their affection for each other was founded on a kindred piety, the surest basis of all friendship, and so had strengthened through after life. In his youth Lord Weymouth had for his tutors Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Fell: it is sufficient praise of him to say that the pupil was not unworthy of the preceptors. He and Ken had acted in concert, when they endeavoured to maintain the rights of James, joining with other Peers in the Protest against his dethronement. Long Leat was not above twenty miles from Wells: part of the domain is within the diocese; and Lord Weymouth had the happiness to persuade his deprived Bishop to make that his final resting place. He doubtless felt that the presence of the holy man would bring a blessing on his household; and Ken, whose heart was wounded within him, could not refuse the solace of such an asylum. There, for twenty years, he experienced Wey-

mouth's untiring kindness. Towards the close of life he gave expression to his affectionate gratitude in dedicating to him his volumes of Poetry ;

“ When I, my Lord, crush'd by prevailing might,
No cottage had where to direct my flight ;
 Kind Heav'n me with a Friend illustrious blest,
 Who gives me shelter, affluence, and rest.
 Whose shades benign to sacred songs invite,
 Who to those songs may claim paternal right.
 Rich as he is in all good works below,
 May he in heav'nly treasure overflow.” *

To relieve the Bishop from any sense of dependence, it was arranged between them that Lord Weymouth should receive his seven hundred pounds, and give him an annuity of eighty pounds a year. This “ ever to be acknowledged generosity of his noble friend, and eminent benefactor, procured him the enjoyment of a clear payment of twenty pounds a quarter,”† sufficient, with his moderate desires, to place him out of reach of the world's vexations.

Mr. Markland observes that “ various incidental notices in the letters of the Bishop, and Dr. Smith, prove this nobleman to have been one of the most amiable and benevolent of men. Dr. Smith says, ‘ my Lord governs himself by true principles of Christianity, and keeps firm in his memory the words of the Lord Jesus, preserved by St. Paul, *it is more blessed to give than to receive.*’ The Bishop replies, ‘ the good lord does really conduct his life by the

* Ken's Poems, vol. i.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 34.

divine maxims, recorded by St. Paul, and he is truly rich in good works, and indeed so are his near relatives; *munificence seems to be the family virtue, and traduced (continued) to their posterity.*'"*

Long Leat House, deserving rather the name of a palace, rises amid natural slopes and hills, crowned with hanging woods; the ornamental gardens, enriched with plants brought from every climate, are still arranged in the antique fashion in which they probably existed at the time of Ken. Endless walks and rides are cut through the woods: they offer at each turn some fresh bower of solitude, or opening of the landscape. These "shades benign," as Ken calls them, might well give him rest: they abound in every requisite for the peaceful abode of a "Retired Christian."† There, too, he might indulge his "great relish for Divine Poesy:" and we know that "under this noble lord's roof he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces:" for "he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, as thereby in some measure to palliate the acuteness of his pains, and may give full satisfaction to his readers by promoting their chief happiness, to the Glory of God the Giver."‡

On his way to the parish church of Horningsham, how often from the top of the hill, through a break in the woods, must he have overlooked the prospect, called, from its almost unearthly richness, the "Gate

* Markland's Life of Ken, p. 85.

† A little book with this title is one of the many works erroneously attributed to Ken.

‡ Hawkins, p. 24.

of Heaven." It may have prompted that passage in his poems,

" Soon as thou haft a blifsful glance,
It will thee wholly fo entrance,
Thou, like the Bleff'd, will nothing love
But God above."

Of the old church at Horningham, juft without the park paling, only the tower remains : all the reft has been lately re-edified by a hand, never weary of doing good. It is reftored on true principles of ancient ecclefiastical architecture, with a triple chancel, of ample proportions, mafive oaken roof, fupported by carved angels, fide fcreens, and painted windows, alfo a richly carved altar, font, ftone pulpit, *and abundant room provided for the poor.*

The only companions of his removal from Wells to Long Leat were his beloved books : " thefe he never fold ;"—Under every afpect of his fortunes, they were companionable friends: though mute, they difcourfe to us moft movingly, for they addrefs themfelves to every faculty of our minds. The charm of mufic paffes away with the air that breathes its melody : out of books we gather the abiding harmonies of thought and reafon, philofophy and virtue. They are friends, not only enhancing other joys, but ever creating fresh ones ; lightening and beguiling us of our sorrows ; friends they are who never forfake us ; if the world frowns, they do not turn from us, but open out new fources of comfort : if the world fmiles, and we love its blandifhments, they whifper to warn us of the danger. If we grow weary of their company, and lay them afide, they take no offence ; they wait on our conve-

nience, bear with our waywardness, are content to be neglected, and prompt to renew the acquaintance.

An incident is mentioned by Hawkins, in regard to the Bishop's library, which marks the character of the man. Though he could not bear to sell these treasures, he loved to give many away. There was something so exuberant in his goodness of heart, it would not be satisfied, if others did not participate in his possessions, whatever they might be. Most men are looking out for gifts—he with a child-like instinct was for ever emptying his lap among all around him. Formerly, to encourage his clergy “in catechizing, he furnished them with a stock of necessary books for the use of children.”* So, for their own use, out of his library “he had given large catalogues (i.e. collections) of books to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his diocese.” This was before his deprivation: and now that he was about to leave them, he did the same.† A parting gift is not less precious because made in sorrow. These books were a farewell of friendship, and would always be a memorial of past pleasure and comfort, derived from the confidence and attachment of his clergy, and their zealous aid in his pastoral labours for the common good. They, on the other hand, received them as a token of his constant love, a pledge that they would live in his memory, as he assuredly would in theirs. It was in this spirit that he gave them his parting blessing.

The room which he inhabited at Long Leat is at the top of the house, far removed from the noise and

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 23.

buffle of the noble hall, so well known as the scene of old English hospitality, "those festivities of a Palace" (as his friend, Dr. Smith, says) "open to all comers of fashion and quality."* It is an apartment of most ample dimensions, filled with books, of which some were his own, and others belonging to Lord Weymouth, the overflowings of the great library below. In this retirement he lived, and wrote hymns, and sang them to his viol, and prayed, and died. His principal companion was probably Mr. Harbin, the family Chaplain, of whom he often makes mention in his letters. It is allowable to those who love his memory to say, this upper chamber, and the walks and gardens, woods and glades, which he frequented, give a hallowed character to Long Leat; for there he passed the last twenty years of his life. He made occasional visits to Isaac Walton, Junior, the Rector of Poulshot, and other friends who loved and revered him. Now and then he was in London, sometimes at Winchester, Bath, Bristol, &c. but Long Leat was the principal witness of his future trials, his temptations, and his disquietudes. These last were to follow him, wherever he might go: for what refuge of peace, what stillness or solitude, what shades of retirement, can screen us from the companionship of our cares? We bear about with us our own burthen, which every man must sustain: it is indeed the very channel of consolation to the trustful, as bringing us nearer the sympathy of Christ, who carries our griefs in His own bosom. Ken knew how to cast his at the foot of the Cross, which alone could ease them.

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 90.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Ken refuses to concur with Sancroft and other Non-jurors, in extreme measures—His moderate views and conduct—Disapproves of clandestine consecrations to perpetuate the Schism—Attends the services of the Church.



HE schism inflicted on the Church by the new government in the uncanonical appointment of intrusive Bishops was the source of Ken's sorrows. In his view Princes are called "Christian," as being subject to the spiritual empire set up in the world. If *they* govern, as under God, certainly Bishops, consecrated to their office, and ministering, by the same divine authority, testify to Christ's visible kingdom on earth. If His high prerogatives cannot be annulled, from which all others flow, by what right may Princes cancel the spiritual trust committed to His servants? It needs the concurrence of the Church, founded for His glory, and for no ends of self-interest, ere a hand can be laid on the holy building "fitly joined together, Christ himself being the head." The noblest privilege granted to Kings is to be nursing fathers of the Church: not for themselves, nor for *their* sakes who minister her Sacraments, nor for any thing that belongs to a perishable world; but for His sake who made them Kings, and can and does *un*-make, at the very moment

of their highest security. If there be divine mysteries, they surely pertain to a Kingdom above the rule of Princes, and it were better they should be lowly in their own presence chambers, than run the hazard of an after award for injuries inflicted on God's Church. The invasion of spiritual offices, being a sacrilege, has in it something peculiarly awful, and pointing to the account which Princes, and their counsellors, must one day render of the trust committed to them.

When new Bishops were obtruded into the Sees of the deprived, a Schism was the result. It certainly led to latitudinarian principles, a relaxed discipline, neglect of the services of religion, and a deadness of faith,—of all which we are to this day reaping the bitter fruit. Had these consequences been foreseen to their full extent, it is probable Tillotson, Burnet, and the other influential advisers of the King, would have cordially united to prevent any invasion of the spiritual offices: this does not lessen their responsibility in prompting the temporal power to sever ties which were sacred.

Another grievous trial to one so loving and charitable was the serious difference of opinion, which soon sprung up, and was afterwards prolonged, among the Nonjurors themselves. Ken at once foresaw the fatal consequences of this, and did all he could to prevent it. For himself, being virtually shut out from the public exercise of his office by an act of the state, not grounded upon, or involving any heresy in matters of Faith, he desired, so far as he could, to be passive. He looked upon his successor as a schismatical Bishop, a "traitor of his flock;" but not as incapable of a

valid ministry. Having, therefore, at his deprivation, publicly asserted his own canonical right, he left to Kidder the responsibility of his intrusion, being careful only not to aggravate its effects.

He did not lack the courage of St. Basil, if it could have availed to ward off the schism, or had there been any means of maintaining his jurisdiction: but the clergy of his Diocese having taken the oaths, he did not pertinaciously challenge their obedience. He seems always to have practised the mortification of his own will; not only in outward acts of self-denial, that are soon formed into habits, and may even minister to a subtle complacency, but in a lowliness of spirit, misgiving its own strong impressions, which few men love to forego. He thought it more for the interests of religion to suffer in silence what he could not prevent, than to widen the breach, and encrease the scandal, by an active opposition. He felt no resentments against those who took the oaths: some of his most intimate friends were of the number, and he never withdrew from their society. He could not resign his claims: but for fear of promoting greater divisions, and hurrying his flock to extremes, he did nothing that might relax the discipline of his Clergy under another Bishop.

He did not feel himself justified in at once ceding his office: that would have been an acknowledgment of the lay power to invade the spiritual: his duty was to be a standing witness to the inviolable sanctity of the Episcopate. He had many illustrious examples in the early Church against yielding the trust committed to him: it was not his to surrender into unauthorized

hands. But he had also examples of eminent Bishops to warrant his avoidance of contests by submitting, for the sake of charity, to a forced ejection. — He considered “ the peace of the Church to be of that importance, that it ought to supersede all ecclesiastical Canons, they being only of human, not divine, authority.” *

Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, and White of Peterborough, took an opposite course, no doubt from equally conscientious motives : but the result, as he prophesied, proved adverse to the interests of religion. They held that, not only the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, intruding into the Sees of the deprived, were schismatical, but the whole national Church ! In the Province of York there was no deprivation, — therefore no intrusion. How, then, could the canonical rights of those Bishops be questioned, when the metropolitan and all his suffragans (of whose due consecration no doubt could exist) acted unanimously ? They were supposed guilty of schism by contagion, because they communicated with the successors of the deprived in the other Province ! they no longer appertained to the Church Catholic, of which the Nonjurors were the only true members !

If ever there was an occasion which proved the hopelessness of controversy it was this. The mere list of eminent men, disputing the imputation of schism, and the duties of churchmen, consequent on the lay deprivations, would suffice to show what a mass of learning was brought to bear on these questions. We have a

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 50.

catalogue, in Bishop Lloyd's handwriting, of 120 tracts, pamphlets, and books which issued from the press on both sides to settle this, and the various other controverted points.* The scriptures, old and new, the histories of the primitive ages, of the Roman and Greek Churches, of France, Spain, and England, afforded innumerable facts, illustrating the main arguments: each in its turn was claimed by the combatants as triumphant authority on their own behalf. Such is theological controversy. Ken thought obedience, and lowliness of mind, plain good sense, charitable judgment, and a patient abiding in faith and prayer, were safer guides to truth and Christian brotherhood, than all the learning of the schools: the surest sacrifice of his own will.

If the State deprivals inflicted a blow on the unity, and therefore on the efficacy, of the Church, it was aggravated by the consequent acts of the leading Non-jurors. Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, and White, assuming that the whole Church of England was in schism, determined, as far as in them lay, to make it perpetual. The Archbishop had already delegated his powers to Lloyd of Norwich, whom he appointed his Vicar General for all Archiepiscopal offices. It does not appear that he did so by authority from James, as head of the Church *de jure*: certainly he never asked leave of William, as King *de facto*. Not content with this, they determined to consecrate Suffragan Bishops, who might continue, what they called, a "canonical succession." This was to be done secretly, to avoid the

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

penal consequences to themselves; but it required, as they thought, the sanction of James. They sent over Dr. George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, to St. Germans, with a list of the Non-juring clergy, from which two Prelates were to be selected. James consulted the French Bishops, and the Pope,* who justified the measure: he referred the choice to Sancroft and Lloyd; the former named Dr. Hickes, who was accordingly made Suffragan of Thetford, and the latter Thomas Wagstaffe, who was appointed Suffragan of Ipswich. Both places were in the Diocese of Norwich. But Sancroft died before the measure could be completed, therefore they were consecrated to their offices by Lloyd, Turner, and White, on the 23rd February, 1694.†

Surely this had in it more zeal than wisdom. The consecrations, being clandestine, and most carefully concealed for many years, were no public witness to the truth.‡ The appointment of Suffragans being always made in cases of necessity, for maintaining the services and discipline of the Church, that object could not be promoted by the secret consecrations, for it was expressly provided that the Suffragans should forbear to act, until failure of the deprived Bishop of Norwich,§ who lived fourteen years afterwards.

They never notified their titles, put in their pleas, nor claimed or exercised any rights within their visionary spheres of jurisdiction. If the lay authority

* Lathbury's History of the Non-jurors, p. 99.

† Ibid. p. 103.

‡ Ibid. p. 103.

§ Life of Kettlewell, 8vo. p. 340.

would not permit the Bishop of Norwich himself to fulfil his office, how would it tolerate the intrusion of Suffragans, in all respects less lawfully appointed? The whole scheme was the creation of an honest, but ill-regulated zeal. Serviceable ends are often a delusion: men may run counter to the very religion they desire to preserve; and never more so than when they go out of His appointed way to serve and glorify Him. Hickes and others, consecrated to perpetuate orthodox ministrations in the Anglican Church, came at last to insist on a departure from her ritual, and alterations in the Communion Service: they started in a wrong direction to their object, and could not but end wider of the mark. No present practical good was effected; and having now wandered out of the old ways, they entangled themselves in a maze of error, from which only their death, and that of their successors, relieved the Church. Their Episcopate, having no real vitality, was sustained for a while by an exertion, and at length died out from mere feebleness.

Ken steadfastly refused to sanction the new appointments, which he called "a perpetuating of the schism." His principle as expressed to Mr. Robert Nelson, was that "the strength of innocence is to sit still, and the wisest and most dutiful way to follow, rather than anticipate, Providence."* He thought it best for the interests of all to abstain from any act that might widen, or continue, the breach. "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me." This

* Appendix to Kettlewell's Works, p. xxv.

for the duty he was resolved to do. Though he should have some, he would adhere to the Church of England, & be true to it: a faithful son of his spiritual mother, neither coming short, nor going beyond her manifestations. He loved her as she was: some might attempt to improve others to assail her doctrines and services, to him they were all sacred. Though she were in sin, he might love and revere her, and make her repentance. In as much as he could not wait upon her, he left her to God's providence, knowing that in this world were the times and seasons. We shall see how this proved, in the end, the highest wisdom: and he had his reward; for it was reserved to him, some years afterwards, to heal the schism, which he had no hand in originating.

We are not left only to surmise his exact views: they are recorded in the few letters of his, which have been preserved to us. Writing to Dr. Hickes, one of the most accomplished, learned, and intrepid leaders of the Non-jurors, he says, "I wrote to you long ago, to recommend to your serious consideration the Schism, which has so long continued in our Church, and which I have often lamented to my brother of Ely, now with God, and concerning which I have many years had ill abodings. I need not tell you what pernicious consequences it may produce, and I fear has produced already; what advantage it yields to our enemies."* Again, to the Bishop of Norwich, "I am willing to allow all degrees of excuseability to those who are of a different persuasion from myself, in the business of clandestine

* Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 49.

consecrations, against which you know I always declared my judgment: *I foresaw it would perpetuate the Schism, which I daily deplore*: I thought it insidiously procured by Milford* for that purpose, who could intend no good to our Church; but I was forced at last to tolerate what I could not approve of."†

This is confirmed by the author of Kettlewell's Life: "not long after the Revolution, when some of the Non-jurors were very big with great expectations, Bishop Ken was much displeased that any should flatter themselves with vain hopes, and declared to me with great earnestness and concern, as under a sort of divine impulse, that it was then but the beginning of evils, with a pretty deal to that purpose. But notwithstanding that he could not himself comply with what, by the present settlement, was required of him, he had yet a very charitable opinion of many that did; and is known to have been against perpetuating a separation."‡

The most distressing of all his difficulties was the question whether he could attend the public Communion of the Church. To one of so tender a conscience, whose whole life was dedicated to prayer, who in every stage of his ministerial office had evinced a lively zeal in maintaining the daily service, this was, indeed, an overwhelming question. Let any one read his "Practice of Divine Love," and then judge of the severe penance he was to inflict on himself in a volun-

* The principal Popish counsellor of James at St. Germain's.

† Round, p. 51.

‡ Life of Kettlewell, 8vo. p. 427.

tary interdict from the feast of Christ's precious Body and Blood, in public Communion with the Church, of which he was a consecrated Bishop. Hungry and thirsty, and longing after the riches of God's love, imparted in the Holy Supper, he was to decide whether he *ought* to be absent from the temples, where it was solemnly celebrated. By the blessed Eucharist his soul had been fed by His Lord who bought him at the dear rate of His own death. It is true the Apostles broke bread in an upper chamber, and from house to house; and in after times of persecution assembled at the Holy Feast in any corner where they might find safety: yet it was expressly against the ecclesiastical canons for bishops or priests to do so anywhere but in the public churches, if such were open to them. Did the Schism, created by the lay deprivals, prescribe his abandonment of a Communion, not tainted by any heretical doctrines? This was to be decided not for himself only, but for many others who looked to him as their spiritual guide. The question involved not only his own Christian privileges and personal growth from the means of grace, but the steadfast witness he was to bear to the sanctity of the Episcopal office, violated in his person. He was not to indulge his own aspirations, if they should compromise the trust committed to his stewardship.

What prayers and tears must have pleaded for right guidance in a question of such weighty moment! Weak he might be, and erring in judgment; but not to gain the whole world would he willingly offend His Master. What if he should be wrong? what if his example became an occasion of stumbling to others of weaker

judgment and less fervid piety, willing to use any plea for absenting themselves? If he held aloof from the public prayers, might he not promote a general defection? In his endeavour to maintain the sanctity of religion, might he not lead astray the poorer members of the flock, by seeming to justify their withdrawal from under the hand of their pastors, and so mar the progress of souls he had hitherto laboured to bring to Heaven? Ought he not to forego all scruples, and yield the strictness of antient precedent, rather than they should desert the Communion of the Church? These were fearful doubts to solve.

The public services of the Church now included new forms of prayer for William and Mary, which were called by the Non-jurors the "immoral prayers." If it were sinful to violate their oath of allegiance to James, they could still less join in supplicating God to prosper his enemies: this would have been a mockery of the most sacred services; an affront to Him Whose ear is attent in His holy place. But might he not go to church, and pass over the prayers for the King and Queen? Many of the Non-jurors did so; and when they came to those parts, they rose from their knees, or shut their books, or by some other marks, as omitting the "Amen," or other usual response, tacitly expressed their dissent: or in their own minds substituted the names of James, and his son. As on other points, so on this, there was a diversity of opinion among the Non-jurors. Hickes, and his zealous party, strongly denounced every one, whether of the clergy or laity, who should commit so immoral an outrage. Even if there had been no state prayers included in the services,

they professed that to join in communion with schismatics was a flagrant betrayal of their principles.

The learned, devout, and moderate Kettlewell made a distinction between the Clergy, and Laity. He held that the Non-juring Clergy, whose place it was to afford ministerial offices to others, need not themselves have recourse to the public prayers, because if only two or three joined with them in private, they might minister in a holy assembly, and have Christ “in the midst of them.”* But the mass of the people were unable, from the small number of the rightful clergy, to have at their hands the offices of the Church. In that case “the necessity of public worship would justify their overlooking the faultiness and obliquity of the schism; otherwise men’s pious affections would unavoidably decay and go back, for want of communion.”† “Such is the natural duty, and such the necessity, and importance of public worship, that it is one of the greatest visible supports of religion, which without it would sink and be in danger to fail in the earth.”‡ Therefore in the absence of rightful ministers they might join in the services of the parish churches. But then they must by some sufficient external sign manifest their dislike of the “immoral prayers,” when they occurred; — that is, make a distinction between them, and the truly good and holy services. §

Such were Kettlewell’s opinions, as expressed in his well known work of “*Christian Communion*.” They

* Kettlewell’s Works, vol. ii. p. 635.

† Ibid. p. 637.

‡ Ibid. p. 638.

§ Ibid. p. 653.

were certainly the views entertained by Ken, in respect of the laity. These, he thought, might and ought to go to church. In his letters he notices the censures cast upon him by some of his Non-juring friends for holding this rule: he pleads, in answer, "the vexation created to tender consciences in the country where they live, banished from the public assemblies in the House of God." * And in another he says, "I find I am misrepresented by some of the brethren, and am charged with giving advices contrary to our Mother (the Church), whereas the only advice I have given was to recommend the two last Chapters of good Mr. Kettlewell's book to people's reading. I was always of his opinion, and wished that our brethren had not stated the question on higher terms; and *I approved of the book in manuscript.*" † And once more: "I never argued the case with lay people, but recommended to them the two last Chapters of Mr. Kettlewell's book, where it is truly and fully stated to my apprehension. Our brother of Ely, now with God, had the like thoughts, and gave the like advice to a worthy person, now near me in the country, who related it to me; and I always thought, and said, that stricter measures would be of fatal consequence to our Church, for which many of my brethren would never relish me." ‡

It is not perfectly clear whether he himself only occasionally, or generally, attended the public services. The evidence is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand it is stated by Pitts, who knew him well, that

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 49.

† *Ibid.* p. 58.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 60.

“ he never forsook the public assemblies, but even officiated himself publicly, and communicated constantly.” The word *never* is here certainly incorrect: but in one of his letters to Hickes he clearly intimates that he did sometimes go to church. “ Give me leave,” he says, “ to suggest that my brother of Norwich and myself should resign up our canonical claims, which would be the shortest way to put an end to the schism, and which I am ready to do for the repose of the flock. If this is not thought adviseable, I recommend a circular letter to be penned and dispersed, which should modestly and yet resolutely assist* the cause for which we suffer, and *specify the reasons which induce us to communicate in the public offices*, the chiefest of which is to restore the peace of the Church, which is of that importance it ought to supercede all ecclesiastical canons, they being only of human and not divine authority. A letter to this purpose *would make our presence at some of the prayers* rightly understood, to be no betraying of our cause; would guard us against any advantage our adversaries may take from our Christian condescension; would relieve fundamental charity, and give a general satisfaction to all well-minded persons. I offer this with submission, and out of a sincere zeal for the good of the Church, and I beseech the Divine Goodness to guide both sides into the way of peace, that we may with one mind, and one mouth glorify God. Your most affectionate friend and brother,

7th March, 1700.

“ T. B. & W.” †

This letter, taken by itself, would decide the point:

* Qy. assist?

† Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 50.

but on comparing it with another addressed to Bishop Lloyd the doubt remains. In this he urges once more that "some expedient might be found out to put a period to the Schism: in anything of that nature he would gladly concur." He thinks "it had been happy for the Church had Mr. Kettlewell's state of the case been embraced." Then he adds, "I never use any characteristick in the prayers myself, nor am present where any is read: I have endeavoured to act uniformly to the moderate sentiments which I cannot exceed."* By this expression he meant that he never attended on solemn days of Thanksgiving or public Fasts, appointed by the government. Kettlewell and the majority of Non-jurors made a difference between these, and the ordinary services: they held that to be present on such special occasions, which were significant of a direct purpose, † was to profess allegiance to William, and therefore an act of dissimulation: but not so their attendance on the ordinary services, "when we come together to do God honour and service, and to seek supplies for all our own and others' necessities." ‡

One other passage of a later date bears on the question: he says, "I shall spend this summer, God willing, most at Long Leat, though I am now very uneasy there; not but that my Lord is extremely kind to me, but because I cannot go to prayers there, by reason of the late alterations, which is no small affliction to me.

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 56.

† Kettlewell's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 652.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 55.

God keepe us in his holy fear, and make us wise for eternity." The meaning of this is, that Lord Weymouth, having for the first time taken office, on Queen Ann's coming to the throne, adopted the state prayers in his chapel at Long Leat; and then it would appear that Ken ceased to attend the family service. Perhaps he feared to have it thought that he also had changed his principles, whereas we have at that period his express declaration that "nothing should tempt him to any oath."*

It is not easy to reconcile these seeming differences of testimony: the balance of probability appears to be that at Long Leat he had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of pure services, without alloy of the State prayers; but afterwards when these were adopted in the chapel, as they already had been in the Parish Church, he preferred the latter, as affording a more solemn worship. During his visits to his nephew at Poulshot, or when he was in other places, where he could not find any non-juring assembly, we may conclude, from what he himself says, that rather than be debarred the solace of Christian communion he went to church.

At first, perhaps, when he was to make a stand for his principles, and claim of right, he kept entirely away from the public services: but afterwards yearning for them, and seeing the evil consequences of non-communion, he could not always refrain. In this he offended the sturdy Non-jurors: but Nelson, Dodwell, and others heartily sympathized with him, and followed his example. What ought to have been his precise course

* Round's *Prose Works of Ken*, p. 56.

under the particular circumstances, so imperfectly known to us, we may not presume to decide. If all changes are inconsistencies, this was one : but if any be disposed to censure, let him first exemplify the same peaceful and heavenly thoughts, in a life of equal sanctity and chastened will, and be content to suffer as patiently as Ken did ; — then perhaps he may rightly appreciate the motives of this holy confessor of our Church.

Archbishop Sancroft died in 1693 : his successor, Tillotson, within the year after ; and so both rested from their troubles, and their differences. The measures of Government, adopted in the short Episcopate of Tillotson, and with his sanction, had a deadening influence on the Anglican Church. It is a fearful charge to be Primate of England, whose actions touch on things sacred, and in their consequence, for evil or for good, reach beyond his own short earthly span. One after another follows in the line of succession. Shall each, in confidence of his own views, presume to modify the teaching of the Church ? If so, each Primate, differing perhaps from those before him, and those to come (since each man's mind is of its own character) will, to the extent of his influence, reduce her to a wavering and inconstant thing, swayed by every breath of human judgment. But the Church, like the Truth on which she is founded, is unchangeable. When an Archbishop sets his hand to a work of alteration, he undertakes what is beyond his power to limit, or control. He may sanction but one degree of deviation from the rule handed down to him : — how soon, or through whom, the next may be taken, is not within his range to foresee. But the responsibility

must be on him who led the way. There is something fearful in this thought for Bishops, as for Princes, and their counsellors.

Queen Mary shed tears for the loss of Tillotson. His funeral, however, was the close forerunner of her own : a few weeks after she was seized with small pox, and died on the 28th of Dec. 1694, at the early age of thirty-two; in the fifth year of her reign. If the long possession of a throne could ever suffice to sweeten the remembrance of having supplanted an indulgent father, she did not reap even this fruit of the usurpation. It does not appear that she ever asked his forgiveness, or expressed contrition on her death bed.

James records his bitter sentiments towards her. He hoped her death might give an opening for the restored rights of his son. Whereas (to use his own words) " All the King got by it was, an additional affliction to those he already underwent, by seeing a child, whom he had always cherished beyond expression, and loved so tenderly, persevere to her death in such a signal state of disobedience and disloyalty, and to hear her extoll'd, and set out for it in the brightest colours, as the highest virtue, by the mercenary flatterers of those times. Even that dull man, Dr Tenison, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who with his languid oration at her funeral rather diverted than edify'd the company, rank'd it amongst her highest praises, that by long and laborious contradictions she got the better of her duty to her parents, in consideration of her religion and her country. Thus she was canonised for a sort of parricide, by usurping her father's throne, and sending him together with his Queen

and the Prince her brother, to be vagabonds in the world, had not the generosity of a neighbouring monarch receiv'd, entertain'd, and succor'd them, when their own subjects, and even children, had lost all bowels of compassion and duty." "If anything had been able to trouble the tranquillity which the King's resignation afforded him, this would have done it, especially when he heard his poor daughter had been so deluded as to declare at her death, that 'her conscience no way troubled her, — that if she had done anything which the world might blame her for, it was with the advice of the most learned men of her Church, who were to answer for it, not she : ' this made the King cry out ; ' O miserable way of arguing, so fatal both to the deceiver, and those that suffer themselves to be deceived ! ' She discover'd, it seems by this, her scruple and apprehension, yet blindly followed those guides, whose tragical end, as well as those who are guided by them, the Scripture itself warns us of." *

A sad epitaph this, to be written on a daughter's tomb by a father's pen, perhaps more severe than just. Among many recorded testimonies to her merit, is that of a most truthful servant of her's, who had an intimate knowledge of her character. This was Dr. Hooper, her Chaplain at the Hague, and ever afterwards much in her confidence. "He would often say that, in the time he attended her, he never saw her do, nor heard her say, a thing that he would have wished she had not." †

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 525.

† Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper.

On the death of Mary, laudatory sermons were preached in many of the London and country churches. That by Archbishop Tenison at Whitehall, was the "languid oration of that dull man," which so much displeased King James; it also drew down upon him many severe comments from others, as exhibiting a great want of proper reserve, in details of the death-bed scene, which should have been kept sacred. One pamphlet in particular came forth, which excited much attention, and being attributed to our Bishop, may not be passed over. It is often the penalty of distinction and fame to bear the burthen of other people's sayings and doings. No one was more profusely honoured after this sort than Ken: the works injuriously ascribed to him are more in number than his real productions. Hawkins complains of the "ill treatment he met with, even in his lifetime, from having spurious performances ascribed to him."* Among these was the anonymous tract, entitled "A Letter to Dr. Tenison, concerning his Sermon, preached at the Funeral of her late Majesty." It is a tissue of bitter obloquy against the Queen, and the Archbishop, wholly inconsistent with the meek spirit of the author of the "Practice of Divine Love." It was not likely that he should now, for the first time, and on such an occasion, enter the lists of a political controversy. If anything could draw him out of his retirement into the

* Dedication to the Works of Thomas Ken.

Mr. Round, in his Preface to the Prose Works of Ken, notices several, and satisfactorily disproves his authorship.

din of a contentious world, this at least was a topic uncongenial to him. He was incapable* of traducing the character of a Princess "whose high esteem he had gained by his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety, and whom to his death he distinguish'd by the title of his Mistress."† In all his acknowledged writings, or in his correspondence, no expression can be found that is akin to the whole tenor of this Letter of vehement animadversion.

Ken, therefore, we may be sure, was not the author. In his contemplative life, amid the secluded walks of Long Leat, he was very differently engaged. "There," as Hawkins says, "he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces," to be found in his volumes of poetry. "His cholick pains rendering him incapable of more serious study, he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, 'his great relish for Divine Poesy,' as thereby, in some measure, to palliate the acuteness of his pain. So close was his application to these studies, and so was his mind bent on quietness, that during all the time of his retirement, and among all the attempts of, and clamours against, those called *Jacobites*, in the reign of King William, he was never

* As one passage alone of that work might show; "O, my God, amidst the deplorable divisions of thy Church, let me never widen its breaches; but give me Catholic charity to all that are baptized in thy name, and Catholic Communion with all Christians in desire. O give me grace to pray daily for the peace of thy Church, and earnestly to seek it, and to excite all I can to praise and love Thee."

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 7.

once disturb'd in that quiet enjoyment of himself; and 'tis presumed never suspected of any ill design, since never publicly molested, or privately rebuk'd :* “ He behaved himself with all the decency, piety, and humility that became a Bishop in affliction.” †

* Hawkins's *Life of Ken*, p. 25.

† *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 43.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

Ken's humane disposition — Circular letter of the deprived Bishops, recommending a charitable fund for the relief of the Non-juring Clergy — Character and Death of Kettlewell — Ken summoned before the Privy Council, and released.



THE friendship of Lord Weymouth had placed Ken beyond the reach of personal want: but he was sensitively alive to the distress of others. Every appeal of an afflicted fellow creature moved him at once to sympathy. His alms could not be in the measure of his charitable desires, which had ever been unbounded. When he gave nearly 4000*l.* to the exiled Huguenots, it did not satisfy him: how much less could he effect on 80*l.* a year! Then, of his abundance, he cast in all, as an offering to God;—now, his poor mite was an equal oblation, and laid up in the same treasury,—not the less blessed to himself.

Writing to Bishop Lloyd, he excuses himself from coming to London, as “being consistent neither with my purse, nor convenience, nor health, nor inclination:” and some days afterwards he says, “when I told you a London journey was not agreeable to my purse, it was no pretence, but a real truth. I am not able to support the expence of it, which all that know my condition will easily believe. I thank God I have enough to bring the year about, while I remain in

the country, and this is as much as I desire. *I have often been offered money for myself, but always refused it, and never take any but to distribute.*"* Lord Weymouth frequently made him his almoner. His friend, Dr. Thomas Smith, mentions his "generous and truly Christian compassion, and concern for the distressed Clergy of Scotland, who were suffering for conscience' and righteousness' sake, and his zeal in recommending their sad and woful condition to the humanity, good nature, and bounty of devout persons of his acquaintance."† Dr. Smith himself often received assistance from him. On one occasion Ken writes to him, "living so much in the country, I have no charitable contributions put into my hands, but of my own I can spare you the contents of the following note, which you would oblige me by accepting."‡ At another time, "I entreat you to let me know with the freedom of a friend, when you are in any streight, or want supply's to carry on your labours of love for the publick."§ Six months later the Dr. writes, "I hasten to make my grateful acknowledgements for the contents of your last letter; and next to unburthen myself that I was extremely surprized, not to say confounded, *stupito & stordito*, as the Italian phrase is, with the excessive kindness of your repeated present; w^{ch} considering the narrowness of your own circumstances I made it a scruple at conscience whether I could fairly receive: though you are pleased in your letter to obviate that doubt by telling me that you can

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 57.

† Ibid. p. 52.

‡ Ibid. p. 85.

§ Ibid. p. 93.

very well spare it."* Again the Bishop writes to him "I am sorry for good Lady Dutton and her daughters : I beseech God to support them. If when you go into the city you call on Brome, the Bookseller, he will pay you fifty shillings, which I design for them, though *I desire you to make no mention from whom it came.*"†

If he felt for the distress of the Non-jurors in Scotland, the deprived Clergy in England were equal sufferers, and had a more immediate claim on his compassion, some of them being in his own diocese. They had lost their all by refusing the oath of allegiance, and many of them were reduced to the lowest state of penury. Their wives and families were literally starving; for though charitable people made collections on their behalf, the number of these objects of pity was too great to be maintained, except on the most precarious footing. At length, Mr. John Kettlewell, seeing that nothing could meet the urgency of their case, but systematic and authorized collections, drew up a "Model of a Fund of Charity for the needy suffering Clergy." His prudence and foresight, no less than his meekness, were an earnest that the scheme would be effectual, and so guarded as to prevent giving umbrage to a jealous Government. He proposed that the deprived Bishops should issue a Pastoral Letter, inviting all humane persons to contribute, and that they should be managers of the Fund, with others of the Clergy to be selected by themselves. The several cases of the sufferers were to be correctly examined, and distribution made in strict conformity with their

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 97. † Ibid. p. 105.

merits and wants. By this plan, it was thought the Non-juring Bishops would have more control over the conduct of their Clergy, and a protection be afforded against the many false pretenders, who had hitherto imposed on the charitably inclined.*

The proposal met with the warm concurrence of the deprived Bishops, themselves reduced to such a small pittance, that they could afford very little help to the inferior Clergy. A letter of Kettlewell's to Bishop Lloyd shows the origin of the charitable fund, and is also an evidence of his frequent intercourse with Ken.

“ MY LORD,

“ I HEREWITH present a small Book† to your Lordship consisting of Thoughts, which have been much my study and employment under mine infirmities, and are fit to be soe still: And which I hope may be of use to others, when they come, as sooner or later all must expect to come, into a state of decays and weaknesses, not to add alsoe in their best state of health.

“ When my L^d Bp. of B. and W^{ils}. in great kindness and charity, was pleased last to call here, I was proposing to him the setting up a Fund of Charity, for regular collection and distribution of the same among the poor suffering Clergy. I told him the good will you bore to it, only some difficultyes seemed to you therein, which I hoped might be removed. If he has seen your L^p since, I believe you had discourse upon

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 417.

† Companion of the Penitent, and Persons troubled in mind, 1694, 8vo.

it. Were this fund for the soldiery (tho' God knows enow among them have need enough) it may be some might fancy they could with better colour charge it as a lifting of men. But being only for the Clergye's relief, and their needs being notorious, methinkes, let them trouble whom they will, they cannot hurt them, and they may freely own and thanke God they have been employed therein; and when the truth of all is laid open, all wise men of all partyes must own, that it is an excellent part and proof of pastoral care, and the adversaries can only envy it, not fasten on anything to accuse or punish in it.

For subscribing your Names and Titles, in any papers to recommend the same, and stir up charity, methinkes it would neither prejudice you, nor could offend them, if you write yourselves with an Epithete, noting, not the justice on one side or other, but only the actual suffering and force you are under, as *Suffering, Displaced, Ejected, Deprived*, or what word you shall thinke more proper, added to *Bishops*, when you subscribe yourselves.

I shall only add, that if upon your wise and mature consideration, Y^{or} L^p and Y^{or} Brethren the B^{pps} shall thinke this a feasible, as you will thinke it otherwise a good design, and for this regular provision like to go on, I have a friend who authorizes me to say he will give an hundred Pounds himself towards the beginning of the Fund, and I know he will moreover get as much of others towards the same as he can.

Being laid up by my infirmities this winter, and soe uncapable by waiting on you to speak these things to Your L^p myself, I here presume, with humble sub-

mission, to write them. Wherein if Your L^p perceive me to be wrong, your goodness will allow the honesty of my zeal for soe good a thing, to expiate my mistakes about the ways of its' promotion.

"I humbly beg your blessing, and remain

My hon^{ed} L^d

Y^{or} L^{ps} faithful humble serv^t

"Dec. 20, 94."

J. KETTLEWELL.*

The infirmities he speaks of too rapidly increased upon him: his naturally tender and delicate frame, over-wrought by study, could not withstand the fatal inroads of a consumption; he was snatched away from his friends at the age of forty-two.

John Kettlewell presents to us one of the most perfect examples of holiness that adorn the history of the English Church. It seemed to all around him, even in earliest youth, that God had endowed him with peculiar grace. In every stage of life the sweetness of his temper was remarkable. A capacious and refined intellect, extensive learning, endurance and courage, were the least of his qualities. Piety, judgment, prudence, erudition, modesty and candour have, one or other, been the leading points in many characters, justly revered in their day; but we find them all united in the person of Kettlewell. His tenderness of conscience, his self-abasement, his sense of God's attributes of infinite purity and justice, were harmonized by the Holy Spirit into a confiding Love, based on an immoveable Faith in the saving efficacy of his Redeemer's death. There is a letter of Sancroft's to Lloyd,

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

acknowledging the receipt of a manuscript treatise of Kettlewell's on "Christian Prudence, or Religious Wisdom." He says, "I have long esteemed Mr. Kettlewell a very good, and pious practical Divine: but this last treatise, and what he wrote formerly against Julian Johnson, about Passive obedience,* show him to be also a very learned man, very well read both in the Roman and Ecclesiastical history. I desire you kindly to salute the author in my name, when you see him, and to assure him of my most cordial love and esteem; and to accept yourself of my hearty thanks for the opportunity you give me of perusing these excellent discourses."†

"Jan. 26, 1691."

It is an honour to Bishop Ken that he was the model, which this younger Saint appears to have followed in the maturity of his Christian character. It is an equal testimony to the virtues of Kettlewell, that the good Bishop "upon all proper occasions expressed the solid esteem which he had for him, and for his judicious and pious works."‡ Their sacred friendship for each other suffered no interruption: in the very recreations, which they allowed themselves from their labours and study, there was a similarity of tastes. Kettlewell's chief diversion was music, "in the theory of which he was well skilled; and in the practical part too he was not deficient:" their favourite instruments were the same—they both played the viol. Kettlewell's

* Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross, or Passive Obedience under any pretended Invasion of legal Rights and Liberties. 1691.

† Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

‡ Life of Kettlewell, p. 422.

published prayers are inferior to Ken's, which perhaps have never been excelled in our language: his sermons are wanting in the rich imagery, and fervid, impassioned eloquence, that made the Bishop the first of Preachers: in varied learning Kettlewell excelled his friend.

They were united not only by the bond of personal affection, but by perfect accord of their principles on the great questions of the Church, for which both were sufferers. Had Kettlewell lived a few years longer, there can be little doubt that he would have concurred with his most intimate friend, Robert Nelson, in the final measure of Ken for healing the schism. Soon after his death, Nelson printed a Volume of Kettlewell's Sermons, with some account of his life and character: he sent a copy to the Bishop, who, in returning his thanks, says, "you have done honour to the memory of our dead friend, which we all ought to acknowledge: and I am very glad that his life is writing by another hand, as you tell me. He was certainly as saint-like a man as ever I knew; and his books are demonstrations of it, which are full of as solid and searching a piety as ever I read. God was pleased to take him from the evil to come, to his infinite advantage, but to our great loss: His blessed will be done."*

Kettlewell, on his death bed, received the holy Sacrament from the hands of Ken.† Mr. Bell, who also attended him in his last moments, had been appointed

* Kettlewell's Life, Appendix xxv.

† The Constitution of the Catholic Church by Dr. George Hickes, p. 4.

to read the funeral service over him ; but the Bishop was permitted to pay this tribute of affection to his memory : accordingly he performed the burial office, and read the whole Evening Service in his lawn sleeves.* This was in April, 1695. It is the only recorded instance of Ken's public administration of the services of the Church after his deprivation.

The intended "Model of a Fund for Charity" was delayed for some time by the death of its originator. But in July the deprived Bishops drew up the following Pastoral Letter.

" To all Christian people, to whom this Charitable Recommendation shall be presented, Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

" WHEREAS We, the present Deprived Bishops of this Church, have certain information, that many of our deprived brethren of the Clergy, their wives, children, and families, are reduced to extreme want, and unable to support themselves, and their several charges, without the charitable relief of pious and well disposed Christians ; and being earnestly mov'd by several of them to represent their distressed condition to the mercy and compassion of such tender-hearted persons, as are inclined to commiserate and relieve the afflicted servants of God,

" Now We, in compliance with their intreaty, and with all due regard to their suffering circumstances, have thought it our duty (*as far as in law we may*)

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 484.

heartily to recommend their necessitous condition to all pious, good people; hoping and praying that they will take their case into their serious consideration, and putting on the bowels of charity, extend their alms to them, and their needy families.

“ And we will not cease to pray for a blessing on such their Benefactors: and remain in all Christian offices,

“ Your’s

“ William Bishop of Norwich	} now deprived.”
Robert Bishop of Gloucester	
Francis Bishop of Ely	
Thomas Bishop of Bath and Wells	
Thomas Bishop of Peterborough	

“ July 22, 1695.”

The reservation, “ as far as in law we may,” was inserted at the instance of friendly lawyers, who foresaw that this exercise of ecclesiastical authority might rouse the watchful jealousy of the Government. The object of the paper ought to have protected the harmless authors of the Fund from any such feeling: but being in the form of an Encyclical Letter, or Brief, they were ordered by warrants to appear before the Privy Council, and answer to a charge of misdemeanour. It was not the first time Ken, Turner, and White had been summoned before this tribunal in the cause of religion. As in the former reign, they had been sent to the Tower for maintaining the integrity of the Church, they were now threatened with the same punishment for advocating the cause of Charity.

Nearly ten years had elapsed since Ken’s memo-

nable trial. The vigour of his frame was now impaired by sickness, and his vivacity abated. He had not, as before, the prayers and acclamations of a whole nation to sustain his fortitude: the cold indifference, to say the least, with which he was greeted, might well damp the ardour of his mind, had he regarded the opinion of men. In 1688 King James anxiously waited the arrival of the Bishops from Lambeth Palace, and they were at once ushered into his presence: now Ken had to give his attendance three times in the outer waiting room of the Council Chamber, before he was admitted. The Lords gave him a favourable hearing; and afterwards Mr. Bridgman (Clerk of the Council) was sent out to him to tell him that they expected a copy of his answers. Accordingly he drew up an Account of the whole proceedings, which has been preserved to us by Hawkins.*

It is one of the most interesting records of his life, as it exhibits in the clearest light his courage, and the simplicity of his character. It appears that the Council were struck by his venerable appearance, and satisfied, from the answers he made to their questions, that the motive of the Bishops was purely one of charity.

His "ACCOUNT" begins as usual by ascribing "ALL GLORY TO GOD," and ends with "beseeching God to be gracious to their Lordships." They first asked him if he subscribed the obnoxious paper; to which he answered, "My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect; for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfill'd by it; and what we

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 48.

were not able to do by ourselves, was done by others ; the hungry were fed, and the naked were cloath'd : and to feed the hungry, to cloathe the naked, and to visit those who are sick in prison, is that Plea which all Your Lordships, as well as I, so far as you have had opportunities, must make for yourselves at the Great Day. And that which you must all plead at God's tribunal, for your eternal absolution, shall not, I hope, be made my condemnation here."

In reply to the objection that the paper was illegal, he says, " My Lords, I can plead to the Evangelical part ; I am no lawyer : but I will sincerely give your Lordships an account of the part I had in it. The first person who propos'd it to me was Mr. Kettlewell, that holy man who is now with God ; and after some time it was brought to this form, and I subscribed it, and then went into the country to my retirement in an obscure village, where I live above the suspicion of giving any the least umbrage to the Government."

Against the charge that the collections had been misapplied to unworthy objects, " and particularly to one *who goes in a gown one day, and a blue silk waistcoat another !*" he answers, " If the money was given in mistake, or to unworthy people, yet if they want the necessaries of life, we ought to support that life God indulges them, hoping for the happy effect of it. I thought it my duty to do this in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, when there were in my Diocese about a thousand prisoners, and many of them ill men, and void of all religion. I visited them night and day, and I thank God I supply'd them with necessaries myself, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the

same, and yet King James never found the least fault with me. And if I am now charged with misapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordships that St. Paul's Apostolical rule may be observed, 'against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses;' for I am sure none can testify that against me. What I gave, I gave in the country; and I gave to none but those who did both want and deserve it: the last that I gave was to two poor widows of depriv'd Clergymen, one whereof was left with six, the other with seven small children."

When it was urged that he had usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he replied, "My Lords, I never heard that begging was a part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us. I make no doubt but your Lordships may have had strange misinformations concerning this paper: but having sincerely told you what part I had in it, I humbly submit myself to your Lordships' justice.

"I presume your Lordships will come to no immediate Resolution concerning me; and having voluntarily surrendred myself, and the Warrant having never been serv'd on me till I had twice attended here, this being the third time, and my health being infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordships, that I may return to my sisters house, where I have hitherto lodg'd, which is a place the messenger knows well; and that I may be no otherwise confin'd till I have receiv'd your Lordships final Resolution.

"This favour your Lordships were pleas'd very

172 *Life of Thomas Ken,* [1696

readily to grant me; for which I return my humble acknowledgements, beseeching God to be gracious to your Lordships.

“THOMAS BATH AND WELLS.

“*Ami. eccl.* 1696.”

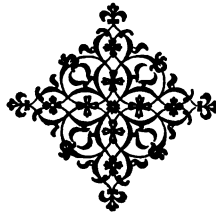
Depriv’d.”*

What voice could be raised against him after so explaining himself? “The Council thought proper to drop the affair as easily as could be;” for, as the author of *Kentwell’s Life* observes, “he made such an apology for the part he had in the matter, as was irresistible, his answers being those of a true Christian Bishop.”† And so he was dismissed to his meditation and prayers. Health, station, influence, were no longer his: but his heart was inflamed with a nearer approach to Him, on whose love he was willing to renounce. He realized the sweetness of God’s presence, compensating all other wants. In his public life he had never desired for advancement in the world, which was to him as a fleeting vision: every act had been a step towards Heaven; in his retirement, he had the happiness of a meek spirit, which is its best preparation. It was not here he had ever expected to be finished: and now he had more than he thought he deserved. Bounties, or crosses, — whichever befel him, seemed equally blessed. His faith was constant, his obedience cheerful, under every trial. Poor though he was, he had a readiness of heart to administer com-

* *Hawkins’s Life of Ken*, p. 56.

† *Life of Kentwell*, p. 422.

fort to others, and a free, sincere, and entire contentment in all God's appointments for himself. He knew them to be pledges of His unbounded love, which would be perfected hereafter in the beatific vision. These are the sentiments that find frequent expression in his poems, prayers, and letters.



CHAPTER XXIX.

Death of James II.—Death of William III.; his character—Accession of Queen Anne—Bishop Kidder killed in the Palace at Wells during the great Storm—Anne offers to restore Ken to Bath and Wells: he declines: persuades Dr. Hooper to accept his Bishopric, and resigns.



AS time wore away, and Ken advanced in years, many of his friends dropped, one by one, into the grave. Dr. White, Bishop of Peterborough, went to his rest in 1698, and Francis Turner, in 1700. We find no record of Ken's feelings at the loss of this, his earliest friend: but in several of his after letters, referring to their agreement in principles, he always mentions him as "the Bishop of Ely, now with God." He could not lament his departure, knowing that he had escaped from trouble and infirmities to bliss unspeakable: he rather desired the hour when he should be permitted to join him.

Kings, too, and mightiest potentates must die. James and William were taken away within six months of each other. One had outlived his hopes;—the other had learnt how unavailing to happiness is successful ambition. Who can say which of the two, in their contests, had gained most for eternity,—he who lost, or he who won the Crown? On both it had pressed uneasily. James meditated deep inroads on the English and

Scotch Churches,—but was frustrated: William had the power to inflict upon them wounds as deep, and more lasting;—and he exercised it to the full. We feel them to this day. His last thoughts were bent on the passing of a law for new oaths, to be taken by all persons,—abjuring the claims of James's son. His dying hand was too feeble to affix the signature to this crowning Act of a timorous policy, by which he hoped to secure to himself the quiet possession of the throne. That throne was already given to another,—to one whom he cordially disliked, and had treated with unmerited harshness. The dread summons had gone forth, against which there is no appeal. Even the arrival of Lord Albemarle from Holland, with important intelligence on affairs of deep interest to him, could no longer rouse his departing spirit: — “*je tire vers ma fin*,” was the only languid reply.

It is no fair ground of censure against William that he loved Holland exclusively. It was the country of his birth and inheritance; and where is the law that condemns a man for being a patriot? Certain it was, he had no love for England, except as a possession, and a means of his own aggrandizement. Nor is it just to say that he was altogether a foreigner: his mother was an English Princess, and he had almost as much of the Stuart blood in his veins as James, whose mother was Henrietta of France. The real blot on his escutcheon is that, being a nephew and son-in-law of James, he deliberately violated his word, and the ties of kindred, in the pursuit of his ambition.

As a brave warrior, and a sagacious statesman, his claims to high repute are unquestionable, though in

the complex politics of England he was often-times wavering and undecided. The liberties secured to us by his accession cannot be too highly prized : but they were not his grant. The BILL OF RIGHTS was a noble triumph, gained by our ancestors of that day : to them we must ascribe the honour of its achievement. It is a lasting monument to their memory, and to the wisdom which exacted it, as the stipulated price of the Crown, — then in their power to bestow. It remains for historians to justify, as best they may, his willingness, in the latter part of his reign, to recognize the claims of James's son (whose birth he had before stigmatized) in preference to those of Anne, who had yielded to him her prior claim to the throne, on the faith of his pledge, and justice. But for that voluntary cession, he would probably have ceased to be King, after the death of Mary. The consternation, and heartfelt grief, occasioned by his death, throughout Holland, and the undisguised joy of the French, bore equal testimony to the high sense entertained of his talents by friends and foes. He raised his native country to a dignity it had never reached under any former Prince ; and England owed to him the honour of having curbed the unbounded ambition of Louis.

The accession of Anne revived the hopes of the Non-jurors. They had been occasionally treated with great harshness in the time of William : the meditated oath, abjuring the claims of James's son, had filled them with alarm. Ken writes, " I am troubled to see the nation likely to be involved in new universal oaths, but hope they will be imposed on none but those who are employed, or promoted, in Church and State.

You will do me the kindnesse to set me at ease about it, and let me know whether it will be inforced. *It is an oath I shall never take. I will rather leave the kingdom, old and infirm as I am.*" *

Bishop Lloyd wrote to him on "the nice conjunction of affairs;"—"Your presence and counsel seem to be very necessary to us, upon the fact of the late emergency, namely the death of King William. Therefore I make bold to pray and entreat you to come up to our comfort and assistance, as soon as conveniently you can. This, my Lord, is the earnest request of such of our brethren as I have seen and conversed withall, as well as of your Lordship's affectionate friend and brother." †

It does not appear what were the plans then formed by the nonjurors. But Ken, long since weary of the contests of party, could not be moved from his resolution to remain quiet: he knew that many still desired to maintain the separate communion, and in this he was not disposed to concur. He says "he cannot imagine that his counsel and assistance are worth a London journey: he believes it may give a fair occasion to many to alter their conduct—but it does not at all influence him. He has quite given over all thoughts of re-entering the world, and nothing shall tempt him to any oath, only he heartily wishes that by those who know the towne, some expedient might be found out to put a period to the schism, which is so very vexatious to persons of tender conscience, who live scattered

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 54.

† Ibid. p. 55.

in the country. *In any thing of that nature he would instantly object.**

The first bishoprick that fell vacant, after the accession of Anne, was that of Carlisle. Lord Weymouth, who was of the Queen's Privy Council, at once made interest for restoring his friend Ken to Bath and Wells, by the translation of Kidder to Carlisle. Kidder consented to this through the Archbishop of York: but when it was mentioned to Ken, he declined. The statement is that he objected to the oath of abjuration.† But independent of this, he had resolved not to return to public life.

The next vacancy was St. Asaph. Anne evinced at once her judgment, and her love of the Church, by selecting Ken's old friend, Dr. Hooper, already Dean of Canterbury. He had not been one of those who followed upon the nimble heels of Burnet, when he hurried from the death bed of his friend and patron, King William, to congratulate his successor. This stuff and busy prelate says of Hooper, that "he was reserved, crafty and ambitious: his Deanery had not advanced him, for he thought he deserved to be raised higher." This is one of the many flippant and prejudiced characters to be found every where in Burnet's History: change the word "reserved" into overbearing, and he has rather drawn his own true likeness than Hooper's. *Reserved*—Burnet certainly was not; for he had no reserves with any one person or thing that stood in the way of his pursuit. His History of his

* *Prose Works of Ken*, by Round, p. 56.

† *Lankdown MSS.* vol. v. p. 987.

own Times abounds in skilful touches of events and characters, grouped together with a sort of natural and ready force that defies the trammels of careful arrangement, or laborious investigation. His work is defaced by a want of conscientious truthfulness, the highest and rarest quality in a contemporary historian; but no one can deny the superior powers of his mind. These criticisms apply only to his public acts: of his personal virtues, or their opposites, we have no interest in speaking; he has been sufficiently lauded and reprobated to satisfy both his admirers and censors.

A more affable, simple, and unselfish man never lived than Bishop Hooper. If he was ambitious he had through life taken a strange and unlikely path to bring himself to dignity.* One day, when he was chaplain at the Hague, the Prince was talking to him about the great distractions then in England, at the time of the Popish plot, and the great indulgence intended to be showed to the Dissenters, but Hooper not expressing himself so favourable to those measures as the Prince liked or expected, he said to him, "Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a Bishop."† The fact is, "he would never yield by undue compliance, where the Church of England, or any thing belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once say to one that was in his confidence, that 'if ever he had any thing to do with England, Dr. Hooper should be Dr. Hooper still.'"‡ The Prince kept his word: nor did Hooper pay his court to soften the prejudice. After William came to the throne, "he

* Prowse MS. Life of Hooper. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

gave orders to the Chaplains who preached before her Royal Highness, the Princess Anne, not to make their accustomed bows to her at their going into the pulpit, or rather before they began their sermon, which that Princess (who was remarkably civil, and yet never stooping too much from her high dignity) always used to return to the preacher, neither were they allowed to send her the text. Dr. Hooper did not think any commands whatever sufficient to excuse him from paying her the honour due to her, and constantly did both, whenever his turn came." *

"Just after the death of Archbishop Tillotson, a lady who came into Queen Mary's apartment, told her Majesty that she believed there was all the dignified clergy in town come to Court that day to show themselves. The Queen immediately reply'd, that she was sure she knew one that was not there, and that was the Dean of Canterbury. Some of the company not seeming to think any was missing on that occasion, a lady who knew the Dean was sent out to see, and upon her return saying he was not there, 'No,' says the Queen, 'I was sure he was not there, I can answer for him,' or words to that effect. This the Dean was told by a great lady who was there attending the Queen." †

Ken rejoiced at Hooper's elevation. Writing from Poulshot to Bishop Lloyd, he says, "I am extremely glad that you and the Bishop elect of St. Asaph conversed together. He is one of the best understandings I ever knew, and if he will exert himself, will do ex-

* Prowse MS. *Life of Hooper*.

† *Ibid.*

cellent service to this sinking Church. I should think it one of the best excursions I could make to give you both a visit, but besides my aversion to the town, I am afflicted with such pains, that I am by no means fit for travelling:—they are rheumatic, and lie within my joints, and never come to the extreme parts, and at this present my left arm is in a great measure disabled.”* A fortnight later he says, “You have a very true apprehension of your brother of St. Asaph. He is of an excellent temper as well as understanding, and a man of sincerity, though he may be of a different judgment (having taken the oaths) and I much desire that you may often meet, and consult how to moderate things, as much as may be, *salvâ veritate*; for I fear that many of our friends run too high, and that the Church of Rome will reap advantages of excesses in that kind.”†

On the night of the 26th of Nov. 1703, the greater part of England was visited by one of the most violent and destructive tempests on record. De Foe published an account of this “STORM,” in which it is estimated that the damage amounted to four millions sterling: he says “the loss is universal, and its extent general; not a house, not a family that had anything to lose, but have lost something; the sea, the land, the houses, the churches, the corn, the trees, the rivers, all have felt the fury of the winds. In the New Forest in Hampshire above 4000 trees, some of prodigious thickness, were blown down: and above 450

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 61.

† Ibid. p. 63.

parks and groves lost from 200 to 1000 trees each. Twelve ships of the navy were totally wrecked: the Eddystone light-house was destroyed, and the people within perished. It is impossible to describe the general calamity. About 8000 persons were supposed to have perished.*

In the midst of this scene of desolation many persons had providential escapes: amongst others Bishop Ken. He was staying with his nephew, Isaac Walton Junior, at Poulshot: writing to Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, he thus describes his danger.

“ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“My good Lord and dear Brother,
“I RETURN you my thanks for both yours. I have no news to return, but that last night there was here the most violent wind that ever I knew; the house shook all the night; we all rose, and called the family to prayers, and by the goodness of God we were safe amidst the storm. It has done a great deal of hurt in the neighbourhood, and all about, which we cannot yet hear of; but I fear it has been very terrible at sea, and that we shall hear of many wrecks there. Blessed be God who preserved us. I hope that your Lordship and your family have suffered no harm, and should be glad to hear you are well. I beseech God to keep us in his holy fear.

“Your Lordship’s
Most affectionate friend and brother,

“Nov. 27th.”

THO. B. & W.”†

* London, 1704, 8vo. pp. 155, 156—222, 223.

† *Prose Works of Ken* by Round, p. 63.

In another letter he says, "I think I omitted to tell you y^e full of my deliverance in y^e late storm, for the house being search'd y^e day following, y^e workmen found y^t y^e beame w^{ch} supported y^e roof over my head was shaken out to y^t degree, y^t it had but halfe an inch bold, so y^t it was a wonder it could hold together ; for w^{ch} signal and particular preservation God's holy name be ever praised ! I am sure I ought alwayes thankfully to remember it. God keep us in his holy fear.

" Your Lordshipp's

Most affec^d friend & Br.

T. B. & W. " *

This merciful preservation was the more remarkable by contrast with the fatal end of Bishop Kidder, who had supplanted him in his diocese. Ken writes, two days after, to Bishop Lloyd, "The storm on Friday night, which was the most violent, I mentioned in my last, but I then did not know what happened at Wells, which was much shattered, and that part of the Palace where Bishop Kidder and his wife lay, was blown down in the night, and they were both killed and buried in the ruins, and dug out towards morning. It happened on the very day of the Cloth fair, when all the country were spectators of the deplorable calamity, and soon spread the sad story. God of his infinite mercy deliver us from such dreadful surprises. I am assured that no one either in the Palace, or in the whole town, beside them, had any hurt. God keep us in his holy fear, and our dwellings in safety." †

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 67. † Ibid. p. 64.

The awful catastrophe awakened his devout thankfulness for his own safety; "blessed be God, who preserved us in the late great storm; it is a deliverance not to be forgotten:" but he felt for the "deplorable calamity and dreadful surprise" which plunged Kidder's family in the deepest distress. One of De Foe's correspondents says, "the dismal accident of our late Bishop and Lady was most remarkable; who was killed by the fall of two chimney-stacks, which fell on the roof, and drove it in upon my Lord's bed, forced it quite through the next floor, down into the hall, and buried them both in the rubbish: and 'tis supposed my Lord was getting up, for he was found some distance from my Lady, who was found in her bed: but my Lord had his morning gown on, so that 'tis supposed he was coming from the bed just as it fell." *

No sooner was the death of Kidder known at Court, than several persons solicited the appointment to Bath and Wells: but "the Queen sent for Dr. Hooper, the new Bishop of St. Asaph, told him the sad accident, and that she meant the Bishopric for him. He expressed his thanks to Her Majesty, but begged to be excused, as he could by no means eat the bread of so old a friend as Bishop Ken had been to him, and entreated her Majesty's leave to propose to her the restoring him to his Bishopric again. This the Queen highly approved of, and thanked the Bishop for putting her in mind of it, and ordered him to propose it to Bishop Ken." † This is another proof of Burnet's

* The Storm, by Daniel Defoe, p. 94.

† Prowse MS. Life of Hooper.

unjust character of Hooper, as "ambitious, whose Deanery had not softened him." It may be added here that at a later period, when Compton died, he was offered the Bishopric of London, and afterwards the Primacy of York, on the death of Archbishop Sharp; but declined them both. *

And now an amicable contest arose between the two tried friends, each desiring the other to take the See of Bath and Wells. Hooper knew what a healing of the schism it would be, if the Bishopric were restored to its rightful possessor: but Ken could never be induced to take the oaths: besides, his infirmities had long since determined him to remain in privacy; he "desired only to see the flock in good hands, and he knew none better, to whom he might entrust it than Hooper's."† He received the Queen's offer "with great acknowledgements," and desired Bishop Hooper to "return his most grateful thanks for her gracious remembrance of him; but that he could not return into the business of the world again, but would ever beseech God to accumulate the blessings of both upon her."‡ In the same letter he expressed his great satisfaction at the offer Bishop Hooper had, and "how freely he would resign all title to the Bishopric to him, and how much he rejoiced that his strayed sheep would be reduced under his government."§

Hooper being averse to so sudden a removal from St. Asaph, to which he was only just appointed, "Bi-

* Prowse MS. Life of Hooper.

† Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 65.

‡ Prowse MS. Life of Hooper. § Ibid.

shop Ken sent him a letter, full of those primitive strains, which were in all his writings, in which he charged him, as he would answer it at the great day, to take the charge of his flock, with more to the same purpose; and the Queen at the same time insinuating on his taking it, he was forced to comply.*

One of these letters was the following :

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My very good Lord,

“ I AM informed y^t you have an offer of Bath and Wells, and that you refused it, w^{ch} I take very kindly, because I know you did it on my account; but since I am well assured y^t y^e diocese cannot be happy to y^t degree in any other hands than in your owne, I DESIRE YOU TO ACCEPT OF IT, and I know y^t you have a prevailing interest to procure it. I told you long agoe at Bath how willing I was to surrender my canonick claime to a worthy person, but to none *more willingly* than to yourselfe. My distemper disables me from y^e pastoral duty, and had I been restored, I declared allways y^t I would shake off y^e burthen, and retire.

“ God keepe us in his holy feare.

“ My good Lord,

Your Lordshippe's most affectionately,

“ Dec. 6.”

T. B. AND W.” †

Accordingly, seeing no alternative, Hooper yielded

* Prowse MS. *Life of Hooper*, and Bowles', vol. ii. p. 256.

† Prose Works of Ken by Round.

his acquiescence, at which Ken cordially rejoiced, and thus wrote

“ The Right Rev. Father in God, George Lord
Bishop of Asaph.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My very good Lord,

“ THE last post brought me y^e news w^{ch} I earnestly expected, and w^{ch} your lordshippe’s letter gave me hope of, and I heartily congratulate y^e diocese of Bath and Wells of your translation, for it was y^e good of y^e flock, and not my friendshippe for yourself, w^{ch} made me desire to see you in y^e pastorall chaire, where I know you will zealously ‘ *contend for y^e faith once delivered to y^e saints,*’ which in these *latitudinarian times* is in great danger to be lost. I could easily foresee y^t by my concerne for you I should incurre y^e displeasure of some of my brethren, but this is not y^e first instance in w^{ch} I have dissented from them, and never had cause to repent of it; and the good of y^e diocese supercedes all other considerations.

“ God keepe us in his holy feare,

“ My good Lord,

Your Lordshippes most affectionately,

“ Dec. 20.”

T. K.”

Being thus able to satisfy his conscience in a voluntary cession of his trust into such hands, he could make a decisive step towards healing the schism, for which only he now desired to live. The original contest, and separation, had been based on the forcible invasion of

his rights :— then he could not yield ; but now, after an interval of fourteen years, the breach might be repaired, and the canonical succession preserved. He might call upon his flock to submit heartily to the spiritual jurisdiction of their new Bishop. All who loved the Church, and prayed for its integrity, would be thankful, and he himself restored entirely to her communion, from which, out of conscientious scruples, he had often been compelled to absent himself.



CHAPTER XXX.

Ken censured by many of the Non-jurors for his resignation of the Bishopric—Difference between himself and Lloyd—Queen Anne grants him a pension.

KEN'S anticipations, that by resigning his Bishopric he would incur the displeasure of the Non-jurors, were too truly verified: notwithstanding the spirit of love and temperateness, which prompted him to this act, the Jacobites were loud in their condemnation of him. To close the separation at a moment like this, when hopes of restoring the Stuart line began to dawn upon them, was, in their view, a desertion of the cause of truth, and a schismatical compliance. These complaints could not divert him from his purpose: he had never been a partizan: his love for the Church, and a sense of her present needs, sustained him in the new conflict he was to endure. But, that he might do all with openness, the same post which conveyed his letter to Hooper carried another to the Bishop of Norwich, who was the leader of the more zealous of the Non-jurors. Lloyd had previously been displeased with Ken for his moderate course, which he thought was halting half way in the path of duty. This however had not interrupted their friendly intercourse:

“ they differed, but without breach of friendship.”* And now Ken writes to him, “ I hear of several persons who solicit for my Dioceſe, and whom I know not, and I am informed it is offered to my old friend, the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and that it is declined by him. For my part, if times ſhould have changed, I never intended to return to my burden ; but I much deſire to ſee the flock in good hands, and I know none better to whom I may entruſt it than his ; for which reaſon I write to him this poſt, to let him know my deſire that he ſhould ſucceed, with which I thought good to acquaint your Lordſhip.”†

Lloyd, in answer, adviſes him not to quit his charge, till there might be a meeting, and a conſultation, leaſt anything might be done to hurt the Church, or wound the minds of the brethren.‡ But Queen Anne would not have waited their leiſure ; had Hooper paused in his acceptance, another muſt have been appointed, to whom, moſt probably, Ken could not conſcientiouſly have reſigned his office. Lloyd did not expreſs any diſapproval of what Ken had done ; he even *congratulated him on the choice of Hooper*, expreſſing his ſenſe of the hardneſſe of the work to ſtem the ſtrong current which runs againſt the Church. § “ I was apprized of Dr. Hooper’s piety, learning, and good temper, and in my poor opinion you could not have deſired a worthier or fitter perſon for your ſucceſſor, and therefore I wiſh that a double portion of his predeceſſor’s ſpirit may reſt upon him.” ||

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 55-6.

† Ibid. p. 65.

‡ Ibid. p. 72.

§ Ibid. p. 74.

|| Ibid. p. 72.

This, perhaps unexpected, concurrence of Lloyd was a relief to Ken's mind. He says, "it is no small satisfaction to me, that you approve of my choice, in good earnest. I had such experience of one before,* who instead of keeping the flock within the fold, encouraged them to stray, that I was afraid of a traditour, and in such a time as this, thought I could not do a greater kindness to the Diocese, than in procuring it one of the most valuable men in the Church, and one who was so very able to defend the depositum, which seems to me to be in the utmost danger."† And again: "you cannot imagine the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my See; and I make no doubt but that he will rescue the diocese from the apostacy from 'the faith once delivered to the Saints,' which at present threatens us, and from the spirit of *latitudinarianism, which is a common sewer of all heresies imaginable*, and I am not a little satisfied, that I have made the best provision for the flock, which was possible in our present circumstances."‡

Though he might anticipate censure, he was hardly prepared for so great a ferment as was springing up against him among the Jacobites, at losing a support they could least of all dispense with. Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, had already surrendered his cure of souls:—but as he was not so eminent, and his example little thought of, they took no notice of him.§ To have their separate communions abandoned by Bishop Ken, so loved and venerated throughout the kingdom, who

* Bishop Kidder.

† *Prose Works of Ken* by Round, p. 80.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 81.

§ *Ibid.* p. 69.

— *Life of Thomas Ken,* [1704

if all who were joined to sanctify their cause, was an advantage to their enemies that filled them with distrust. Their excessive anger is forcibly described in one of his letters to Lloyd; "the Jacobites at Bristol, ~~the same at London~~ at London, are thoroughly enraged against me for my union to one, whom all mankind, and themselves have a high esteem of, and one most anxious to preserve the depositum, and under whose care I assure myself that the diocese will be secured from the schismatical contagion. I am threatened with something to be printed against me: I believe they had better let me alone. If I should produce the frequent letters a certain person* wrote to me for near two years together, to importune me to consent to ~~consecration~~ consecrations they would show the temper of the man, and his zeal to make the union inoperative, which I was always for moderating, foreseeing how small it would prove. As long as I have your approbation, and the example of our other Bishops I have little regard for the passion of others: I think that I have reposed the flock in safe hands, which is a great care to me, and I have preserved them from a wound that might have invaded them. All who condemn me owe that death legitimates an intrusion, and I know no reason, but that voluntary cession, for the apparent preservation of the whole flock, to one who will not intrude, may be as effectual as death." †

* Probably Hakes.

† Bishop of Gloucester.

: *Prose Works of Ken* by Round, p. 69.

Lloyd now began to change his view of Ken's act, seeing the disturbance it created in the party, but replied in a friendly tone: "I was sensibly grieved (when I read your letter) for the noyse and outcries, made both at Bristoll and here, upon the account of your cession. How a sudden passion may carry and transport some men at Bristoll I know not; but I am sure I have not heard any of the brethren here say anything disrespectful of your person, or your character, unlesse what amounts to no more than this, viz. that they seemed offended because your conduct in and about the cession was not managed *communi consensu*."*

To this Ken answers; "among other things which are vehemently laid to my charge one is, that against your advice and entreaties I would obstinately go my own way; against this I owne that you had wrote to me to deferre my cession, but that the nature of the thing would not permit it, *and if I had not given my consent that post*, I might have had a hireling and not a shepherd, and I wrote to you to that purpose, and that after I had receded, your Lordship approved of what I had done, and that I had by me your letters, which congratulated my choice, to attest it. Sure I am, if people will duly weigh all circumstances, no well-minded man can blame me. I am told from London 'tis urged that by my action I condemn their conduct, but how I know not; if any of them had a cure of souls, and could transfer it into like hands, as I have done, I should exhort them to recede, as well as myself, for the common good of the flock, without

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 72.

making a bargain with the successor for a pension, as I fear some have done who blame me.

“ God keep us in his holy feare and prepare us for a happy eternity. My dear L^d

“ Your Lordships most affectionate Brother, *

“ 20th March, 1704.”

T. B. AND W.”

Mr. Round records a letter,† evidently from Bristol, but without date or signature, which is a valuable addition to the few particulars we have of the opinions then prevalent with the extreme party. The writer says, “ the melancholy account of Bp. Ken adds to the affliction of the day. When I saw him before Christmas he gave me great occasion to suspect his *declination*, for to my surprise he told me he would resign his Bprick to Dr. Hooper for the preservation of the faith, now in danger.” Among other curious details, the writer mentions, “ having laboured for some months past to bring a young lady of quality off from the schismatical churches entirely. I have talked and wrote to that purpose, but *poor Bp. K. hath undone more in one word* than I was likely to do in ten thousand, for he allowed that liberty, that strange occasional conformity, and so the lady is confirmed in her amphibious devotion. God be merciful to this poor Church. The delusion and infatuation spreads wider and wider. *This poor gentleman's lapse* is occasion of great lamentation unto us, and laughter to our enemies. It confirms more the otherwise well inclined in their schism, hardening the obstinate schismatick, and I fear gives occasion

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 73. † Ibid. p. 70.

to the professed enemies of God to blaspheme more abundantly, and as for my own part, it is a double affliction to think that I must be necessitated to forsake his communion, who received me by absolution to the peace and unity of the Church ; but I must do it, if that father hath fallen himself into those errors, out of which (I daily bless God) I am retrieved.”*

Bishop Lloyd was in a difficulty : his affection and respect for Ken had at first prompted him to yield, at least a tacit, approval of his cession, which he now endeavoured to retract. He wrote two letters, the precise tenor of which can only be surmised from the somewhat tart and reproachful answers returned by Ken, who felt keenly the abandonment of his friend in recalling what he had before said, and leaving him to the unmitigated anger of his censurers. He heard also that Lloyd had the indiscretion to allow some, who were most hot against him, to see his letters, written in confidence, which he calls hard usage,—and not unreasonably, if it were true.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My good Lord and Brother,

“ I PERCEIVE by your two last that your Lordshippe is very shy of owning your approval of my action, at which I justly wonder, in regard your expressions signify it very clearly. I have done nothing but what may be justified by primitive precedents, and which is for the preservation of the *depositum*, which ought chiefly to exhaust a pastor’s zeal, especially when he

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 71.

is in all respects *disabled* himself for pastoral care, and that the flock might have a shepherd, and not a *hireling*. I am not surprized at the censures bestowed on me; I foresaw them all; and, to deal freely with your Lordship, you are not without your share. For my own part, I never did any thing in my life *more to my satisfaction than my receding*. It has eased me of a great load which lay on me, has *entirely loosened me from the world*; so that I have now nothing to do but to think of eternity, for which God of his infinite mercy prepare us.

“ My good Lord,

Your Lord^{sh}'s very affect: Friend and Brother,

“ April 1.”

T. B. AND W.”*

A few days after he wrote again.

“ My very good Lord and dear Brother,

“ THOUGH I wrote to your Lordship last, yett I am in a manner bound to write again, to let you know that the ferment against me rises higher and higher, inso-much that when the neighbours at Bristol come hither, they manifestly insult me, and though you are pleased to tell me that others kindled this flame, and not yourself, I must take the freedom to tell you that it is yourself have most contributed to it. For it is still vehemently urged against me, that I acted quite contrary to your earnest remonstrances, which you know to be false. If I did, I do not remember that I ever put myself into your keeping, and was to do nothing

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 75.

but by your direction; but you yourself can acquit me in that particular, by only relating matter of fact. But I find there is a flat contradiction between them and me; I affirm you approved my action, and you flatly deny it, and affirm the quite contrary, and that encreases their zeal: now I calmly appeal to you to let me know the literal importance of this expression, for I will only mention this: ‘*I heartily congratulate your choice, and wish a double portion of your spirit may rest upon the head and heart of your successor, for I trust he will act valiantly and becoming his station.*’ If this does not signify an approbation, and more than that, a congratulation, both of my action and the person, to that height, I am much mistaken, since you would not have used this language, if you had thought my successour, as you style him, a schismatical Bishop. No, good Brother, your native thoughts were the same with mine; but when you heard a cry against me, you flew to the distinction of Person and Cession, and ’tis from thence that the fury against me was raised for doing an act which, according to the best of my judgment, appeared truly primitive and charitable, and I may add necessary. This is not all; the heat against me is furnished with fresh fuel from the town, and that by your communicating my letters, which I am charged with here. This is hard usage; sure I am that I have never showed your letters to my angry neighbours, being unwilling to expose private correspondence, which when exposed is easily misrepresented, and exaggerated, and if I had done it I verily believe that the like heat would be raised against yourself. Sure I am had you acted uniformly to the expressions you used to

me, this storm had quite allayed, or at least very much moderated. Upon the whole matter I, who desire nothing more than in retreat quietly to serve God, to pray for my brethren, which I daily do, and to mind only my latter end, seeing my letters do but make more trouble, desire to be excused from writing for the future, for I find it much easier for me silently to endure the passion of others, than to endeavour to mitigate it. I beseech God to make us wise for eternity.

“ Your Lordships very affect: Brother,

“ April 5.”

T. B. AND W.”*

We cannot be surprized to see his temper ruffled for a moment at finding his friend appear to join in the cry against him. He was assailed by a host of angry declaimers, who gave him all the hard names of “schismatic, deluded, incoherent,—the poor gentleman whose lapse gave occasion to the professed enemies of God to blaspheme,” &c. And to have his private letters shown about was enough to make him resolve to write no more. But he did write again, and to ask forgiveness for any unkind expressions he might have used.

“ ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

“ My very good Lord and Brother,

“ YOUR Lordship’s was sent to me to Polshalt last night. I confess when I wrote my last I was heated, and provoked to a great degree, and if my provocation transported me to any indecent expressions, I beg your par-

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 76.

don, which you will I hope the more readily grant, because you seem to have been in the like passion when you wrote, and because I intend to give you no further trouble. You must give me leave to be sensible when I am insulted, which I can very easily forgive. Every day encreases the satisfaction I have in providing so well for my flock. God keep us in his holy fear, and make us wise for eternity.

“ Your Lordships very affectionate friend and Br.

“ May 1.”

T. K.” *

This was in answer to a long letter from Lloyd of the 11th April, 1704, which draws a distinction between his approval (which he says he never expressed) of Ken's resigning his Bishopric, and congratulations on his having made choice of so worthy a successor. He also denies having shown Ken's letters to others; “ I communicated none of your letters to any: I did indeed read a passage to Mr. Spinx in my own vindication, out of your's of the 6th of December, which satisfied him about your cession.” — The whole letter shows how warmly and passionately these matters were debated among all parties. Lloyd charges Ken with “ pettish heat ;” and in reference to his letter exclaims, in the same temper, “ what stuffe is this !” He concludes by saying he will not be concerned in any further *brouilliers*. This is what Sancroft, in one of his cheerful letters, calls “ a Rowland for an Oliver.” If Ken was in the wrong to be impatient at the contradiction of his friends, we may find an excuse for him, especially

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 78.

when his candour prompted him at once to beg pardon. Even righteous Job spake unadvisedly under the same trial.

Ken's last letter is signed T. K. No sooner had his friend Hooper taken possession of the see, than he resigned his title of Bath and Wells. Some of his after letters bear the signature of "late Bishop." He now only desired in his retreat "to serve God, to pray for his brethren, and prepare for his last end." The holy zeal for his Master's glory, which had prompted him in all his pastoral offices, was not extinct: his affections were unalterably the same, but they were directed more simply to the interior Christian life. His wearied spirit, and broken health, required rest. We shall see how he sighed for deliverance out of a tedious earthly prison, to dwell for ever in the glorious light above. His humble and retired walk is a spectacle we may yet contemplate with interest and profit: not only as an example of patient endurance under acute bodily sufferings, but of a deepening sense of God's boundless love, as he moved onward to his eternal rest.

An unexpected providence, however, was yet in store for him, to render his circumstances more easy on this side the grave. "Dr. Hooper, in accepting the Bishopric of his friend, prayed leave of the Queen to make a condition; which was to retain his chanter-ship of Exeter in commendam. It was £200 a year, which he undertook to pay constantly to Bishop Ken. The Queen was much pleased with the proposal, and thanked Hooper for putting her in mind of it."* This

* Prowse MS. *Life of Hooper.*

was a strong proof of her respect for the aged Prelate, because it was well known that he was resolute against the oath of allegiance, which she was not disposed to overlook in others :—when her nonjuring uncle, Lord Rochester, asked leave to come to Court, the concise reply was, “let him take the oaths.” Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter, objected to Hooper’s retaining the chantership in commendam, thinking the patronage fairly devolved to himself. He might not be aware that the arrangement was intended to benefit Ken, who certainly knew nothing of it himself. They had been companions in the Tower, in 1688 : but at the Revolution Trelawney took the oaths to William. Possibly each of these old friends, who had stood together in a former contest, now looked upon the other as a deserter from his colours. Ken might think Trelawney had abandoned the cause of the Church, and was probably regarded in turn as false to the principles of liberty. Be this as it may, Trelawney was not a man to be moved from his purpose ; and Hooper, having the Queen’s word, and possession, would not yield the interests of his friend. The Lord Treasurer, Godolphin, interposed to settle the dispute. “The Queen sent for Dr. Hooper, and told him it would be for her service if he would resign the Chantership of Exeter ; but that Bishop Ken should be no loser, as he should have £200 a year constantly paid him out of the Treasury. Hooper gladly assented to the proposal, for he thought it would be more to Ken’s advantage to depend upon the young Queen’s life for this pension, than upon his for the Chantership.” *

* Prowse MS. Life of Hooper.

We may imagine Hooper's delight, in conveying to his friend intelligence of the royal grant, by the warm expression of Ken's feelings on receiving it.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My good Lord,

"YOUR Lordshippe gave me a wonderfull surprise when you informed me y^t y^e Queen had been pleased to settle a very liberal pension on me. I beseech God to accumulate the blessings of both lives on her Majesty for her royal bounty to me, so perfectly free and unexpected; and I beseech God abundantly to reward my Lord Treasurer, who inclined her to be thus gracious to me, and give him a plentiful measure of wisdom from above.

"My Lord, lett it not shock your native modesty, if I make this just acknowledgement, y^t though y^e sense of her Majesty's favour in y^e pension is deservedly great, yett, her choosing you for my successor gave me much more satisfaction; as my concerne for y^e eternal welfare of y^e flock exceeded all regard for my own temporall advantage, being as truly conscious of my own infirmitys, as I am assured of your excellent abilities, of w^{ch} y^e diocese, even at your first appearance, signally reaped y^e fruits. God of his infinite goodness keep us in his reverential love, and make us wise for eternity.

"My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate
Friend & Brother,

"June 1, 1704." . THO. KEN. L. B. & W.*
(late Bath and Wells.)

* Prose Works of Ken, by Round, p. 78.

It was now fourteen years since Ken had been deprived. The sudden grant of £200 per annum to one who had only £80 before, was a great accession. But Bishop Hooper would not allow him to "give it all away, which he was so charitable as to be always doing; so that his habit was mean, and a poor horse * to carry him about, which made Hooper entreat him to lay out something for himself; and from that time he appeared in every thing according to his condition." †

Every little incident on record of the good Bishop furnishes a proof of the general love and reverence he had conciliated. "The Queen's pension was honourably and constantly paid every year by Mr. Taylor, of the Treasury, to Bishop Hooper, who as soon as he appeared there, had it immediately put into his hand, rolled up in paper, for he never waited longer than to receive Bishop Ken's compliments, and acknowledgements to him for the exactness of the payments. And to do justice to this gentleman, it is right to say that when Bishop Hooper offered one day to make him a present of fifty guineas, ready done up to put in his hands, as from Bishop Ken (who knew nothing of it) he would not by any means take it, but with tears said, 'God forbid he should ever take any thing from that good man, for he was but doing his duty.'" ‡

* "It would appear from a passage in one of his letters, that after this grant he kept an additional horse to take him on his journeys: but this was probably as sorry a steed as the other, for on one occasion we find them both laid up, so that he was prevented coming to Long Leat." *Prose Works of Ken by Round*, p. 101.

† *Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper.*

‡ *Ibid.*

There was in all that Hooper did the favour of a sweet and obliging temper. Of this we might give many remarkable instances; and it is difficult to say which of the two friends through life had manifested the more exemplary and disinterested love for the other. Their attachment began in the warmth of youth; and for fifty years was constantly matured by an answering respect and confidence.

“ Our love, which at Heaven’s gate first mutual grew,
God here below took pleasure to renew;
In Heav’n it will to consummation soar,
We then shall ne’er be separated more.” *

* Ken’s Poems, vol. ii. p. 290.



CHAPTER XXXI.

Resemblance of Ken, in some particulars of his life, to St. Gregory of Nazianzen. Ken's Poems—Death of Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester: his Character.



IF the reader has felt an interest in Ken's previous life, dedicated, as it was, to God's service, and to the alleviating of others' woes, he will be prepared to sympathize with him in the anguish he had to endure, in his own person, as he verged towards the grave. Alas! his infirmities were increasing upon him: he suffered from the rheumatism, the cholic, and an internal ulcer, that caused him perpetual agony.

In this, as in several other respects, his life and character remind us of Gregory of Nazianzum. We may hardly venture to compare a Confessor of modern times with the illustrious St. Gregory, who was an ornament of the Church in the time of the Council of Constantinople. But in a like spirit, though with unequal steps, he followed in the same path of holiness. Both despised riches, except as the means of doing good: they employed their revenues in supplying themselves with bare necessities for an abstemious and slender subsistence, and disposed of the remainder in behalf of the poor. Both were pre-eminent in their day for an intimate knowledge of the holy Scriptures: both left behind them monuments of Christian eloquence: the

greater praise of each was a fervent love of God and man, which prompted them in their self-denying and laborious lives.

St. Gregory was afflicted with many sharp fits of sickness, which often did not permit him to sleep. Ken thus describes his own sufferings :

“ Pain keeps me waking in the night ;
 I longing lie for morning light :
 Methinks the sluggish Sun
 Forgets he this day’s course must run.
 Oh ! heavenly torch, why this delay
 In giving us our wonted day ?
 I feel my watch,* I tell the clock,
 I hear each crowing of the cock.
 Sweet ease, Oh whither art thou fled ?
 With one short slumber ease my head.
 My curtain oft I draw away,
 Eager to see the morning ray ;
 But when the morning gilds the skies,
 The morning no relief supplies.
 To me, alas ! the morning light
 Is as afflictive as the night.”

St. Gregory was bent, with age, his countenance worn with tears and austerities, his poor garb, and his extreme indigence made but a mean outward show. So it was with Ken. Both were deprived of their Bishoprics. St. Gregory seeing the great ferment of his enemies against him, cried out in the assembly, “ If my holding the diocese gives any disturbance, behold, I am willing, like Jonas, to be cast into the sea to appease the storm, though I did not raise it. If all fol-

* “ His watch was purposely so contrived, as that he could by his finger discover the time, to half a quarter of an hour.”—Ken’s Poems, vol. iii. p. 396. Note.

lowed my example, the Church would enjoy an uninterrupted tranquillity. This dignity I never desired ; I took the charge upon me much against my will. If you think fit, I am ready to depart ; and I will return back to my little cottage, that you may remain here quiet, and the Church of God enjoy peace. *I only desire that the see may be filled by a person that is capable and willing to defend the faith.*" * In the same spirit let Ken speak for himself :

"Bless'd Gregory, with proud noisy Prelates tir'd,
Whose anti-christian spite his fall conspir'd,
Thus spake : ' Tho' I from raising storms am free,
Yet if you think my fate will calm the sea,
I'll gladly be your Jonah, throw me o'er,
And to the Church a peaceful calm restore.'
I'd gladly too be offer'd to the wave,
So I the Church might by my ruin save.
'Twill waft me on to Heav'n, or quiet shade,
In either,—Hymn is the employment made.
I, crush'd by state decree, and griev'd with pain,
The Past'ral toil unable to sustain,
More gladly off the hallow'd burthen shake,
Than I at first the weight did undertake,
And shall rejoice, when sinking to my grave,
That my dear sheep a worthier shepherd have ;
That, living, I had buried Past'ral care,
And for my last was freer to prepare."

The Saint took leave of the city of Constantinople in a pathetic address, delivered in the Metropolitan Church, before an incredible number of people : In like manner Ken departed from Wells. St. Gregory concluded in these words, " my dear children, preserve the depositum of Faith, and remember the stones which

* Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. pp. 594—603.

have been thrown at me, because I planted it in your hearts." Ken expresses the same anxious love for his people, when he says:—

"To his dear flock when Greg'ry bad adieu,
He warn'd them vow baptismal to renew,—
And rather die glad Martyrs at the stake,
Than the Depositum he left forsake.
With like, though with inferior sacred heat,
The same request I to my flock repeat.
Wolves on the vitals of their Faith will prey,
Their safety is their Shepherd to obey."

St. Gregory was tenderly affected in abandoning his flock, his own converts especially. They followed him weeping and entreating him to abide with them. He was not insensible to their tears; but motives of greater weight obliged him not to regard them on this occasion: an exactly parallel case with our Bishop. Gregory left to Ken a full justification and example, when he quitted the public worship of the Church, and retired into solitude. Here he had a garden, a fountain, and a shady grove, in which he took much delight: he lived in company with certain solitaries, estranged from pleasures, and in the practice of bodily mortification, fasting, watching and praying much on his knees. He says "we have fed the poor, we have served our brethren, we have sung the psalms with cheerfulness. If we are no longer permitted to continue this, let us employ our devotion some other way. Grace is not barren, and opens different ways to Heaven. Let us live in retirement; let us occupy ourselves in contemplation; let us purify ourselves by the light of God."

In this retirement Gregory set himself to write de-

votional poems, for the edification of such as delighted in music and poetry. They are full of ardent love, and prayers to our Blessed Saviour to assist him. Ken's "Preparations for Death," "Anodynes of Pain," "Hymns for all the Festivals in the Year," and his "Songs on Jesus," though far inferior in beauty as compositions, breathe the same spirit of love and piety. He thus, with all becoming modesty, compares himself to the great Bishop of Constantinople.

"Bless'd Gregory, whose Patriarchal height
Shed on the Eastern sphere celestial light,
To Nazienzum flew, dethron'd by rage,
And spent in songs divine his drooping age.
I, if the least may with the greatest dare,
In *grief*, not gifts or graces, to compare,
Forc'd from my flock by uncanonick heat,
In finging hymns thus solace my retreat.

"Bless'd Gregory, with pain and sickness griev'd,
His spirit oft with songs devout reliev'd :
And while on Hymns his meditation dwelt,
Devotion sweeten'd ev'ry pang he felt.
Pain haunting me, I court the sacred muse,
Verse is the only Laudanum I use.
Eas'd of my sacred load, I live content ;
In Hymn, not in dispute, my passion vent.

"Bless'd Gregory to sacred verse consigned
The last efforts of his immortal mind,
Those poems, loftiest prospects have disclos'd,
On brink of bright eternity compos'd.
I the small dol'rous remnant of my days
Devote to hymn my great Redeemer's praise.
And nearer as I draw t'ward heavenly Rest,
The more I love th' employment of the blest." *

* The Works of the Right Reverend, Learned, and Pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. 4 vols. 8vo. 1721.

In an age of criticism and refinement, enriched with the inheritance left to us by our poets, from Dryden downwards, through a century and a half, Ken's verse will perhaps find few admirers. We are so accustomed to the "elegance, facility, and golden cadence of poetry,"* that no energy of thought, or genuine influences of the heart, will compensate for the want of smooth-flowing numbers. With a natural and ample vein of imagination, he was deficient in the essentials of pleasing, sonorous, and varying verse, those easy rhythms, so grateful to the ear,—that metrical expression, which springs, as by instinct, to embody the poet's exuberant flow of thought and feeling. Although we might have looked for these in the author of the *Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns*, his poems often exhibit ill-regulated and turgid flights, beyond the limits of taste. Even amid heavenly images, we are perplexed by an uncouth admixture of harsh commonplace passages, that encumber the brighter visions of his mind. Yet his volumes contain many effusions of pathos, and of the highest range of poetry. His heart was ever straining up to heaven, kindled by a spark of holy fire, more vivid than his pen had power to express in verse. If, instead of those poetical essays, he had given us his meditations in the emphatic prose of his "*Practice of Divine Love*," and "*Winchester Manual*," we should have had a treasure of devotional exercises for all time. To test this we need only clear some of his numerous hymns, and other poems, of their unharmonious numbers, and we find at once a

* Shakespeare. *Love's Labour Lost*, act iv. sc. 2.

store of the richest thoughts of a devout soul, breathing its aspirations to the God of prayer.

We have seen how, in his earlier days, he sung his own hymns to his viol, thus dedicating his loved recreations of music and poetry to the one object of his life, the glory of the Redeemer. Now amid the languid hours of suffering, and the infirmities of age, they were still his constant solace ; he was like "the pale faint swan, who chants a doleful hymn to his own death." * Loving his memory as we do, we rejoice in the thought that he had such sweet anodynes of pain, and that they have been handed down to us, even with all their faults, for the comfort of other afflicted souls.

Ken was not unconscious that censures would be passed on his effusions in verse. His poetical Epistle to the Reader may be thus rendered ; "when at hours relieved from anguish, I quietly read over my songs, sung to enfeeble the insults of pain, I doom them to the flames ; yet when I have decreed them to the funeral pile, the paternal yearnings plead in their favour. Like a father who loves his deformed and blind child, my fondness prevails over the impartial sense of their defects. Reflecting how heaven possessed my soul when I poured out my songs of praise, I hoped they might serve to warm others, as well as myself. Thus they gained a reprieve, and a license to appear : but not till after my death, when no censures can disturb my rest in the grave. Critics may condemn my poetry, as Michal reproached King David, when he danced before the Ark ;"

* Shakespeare. King John, act v. sc. 7.

“ But the good King reply’d with Saint-like grace,
 For God I gladly will myself debase.
 Thus I, to light one spark of Love divine
 In faithful souls, no censure will decline.”

One of the happy asylums to which Ken loved to resort, as “ a retirement into the desert, out of the noise and hurry of the world,” * was Naish House, at Portishead, some six miles from Bristol. There dwelt two maiden ladies, of the name of Kemeyse, “ who revered him for his great piety and charity. † He was a sort of ghostly father to them,” “ exercising all the holy charitable offices flowing from the *ἀγίων κοινωνία*, ‡ and especially in fervent intercession with God, in behalfe of the poore, harrassed, and afflicted clergy and others.” His letters make frequent mention of these “ good virgins,” in whose religious society he spent much of his time, especially in winter and during Lent. He calls the house “ a kind of nunnery, where I usually abide in my Lord Weymouth’s absence.” § His reason for being there at Christmas was “ to make a retreat from the festivities of a Palace (Longleat) open to all comers of fashion and quality.” ||

His friend, Dr. Smith, compares him to “ St. Hierome, conversing with the devout Ladies at Bethelam, instructing and confirming their faith, and directing their consciences in the methods of true spiritual life, and influencing their souls with seraphic notions of God, and of Christ, and of the other world, and especially by the most convincing evidence and demonstra-

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 99.

† Ibid. p. 71.

‡ Ibid. p. 99.

§ Ibid. p. 95.

|| Ibid. p. 96.

tion of example.”* He speaks of “this private feat of the good Ladyes as having a better pretense to the title of a *Religious House* than those so called in Popish countreys, where superstition, opinion of merit, and forced vowes, take off very much from the pure spirit of devotion, and render their restraint tedious and irksome. But these good Ladyes are happy under your conduct, and are by an uninterrupted course of piety elevated above all the gaudy pompes and vanities of the world, and enjoy all the comforts and satisfactions, and serenity of mind, to be wished for and attained on this side of heaven in their solitudes.”†

This is all we can learn of Naish, and its inmates : it is much to be regretted that Ken did not give a more detailed account of these sisters of mercy, after the example of Francis Turner of Ely, who left behind him a memoir of Nicholas Ferrar, the devout and benevolent recluse of Little Gidding. They not only served God in their retirement by a continued course of devotion, but by active benevolence among the surrounding poor, and afflicted. The world is apt to pity the habits of those who take no delight in the busy schemes, or careless pleasures, through which themselves are hurrying. Whereas the lovers of meditation and prayer have the refreshment of communion with the unseen world, which only themselves can know. Numberless passages in Ken’s Poems show how fully he realized that Article of the Catholic Faith, the “Communion of Saints,” as received in the English Church. One may suffice :

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 96. † Ibid. p. 96.

“ Bless’d Spirits, you and we
 Make one celestial family ;
 One Father we revere,
 To one fraternal Love adhere,
 You are in a happy state,
 Our bliss is only inchoate :
 O may we, strangers here, this world repell,
 And with our heavenly brethren chiefly dwell :

“ Though in your bounded sphere,
 You cannot single vot’ries hear,
 And we in no distress
 To single Saints make our address ;
 Yet if, like you, we heed
 The Saints’ Communion in our Creed,
 We of each other’s state have gen’ral view,
 YOU PRAY FOR US, AND WE GIVE THANKS FOR YOU.”

KEN’s Poems, vol. i. p. 406.

Robert Frampton, the deprived Bishop of Gloucester, died in 1708. Of this good man we have so few memorials, it would have been difficult to give even a glimpse of his character, but for some original letters in Dr. Williams’s Collection. These exhibit the courageous spirit of a Confessor to the truth, with a cheerfulness, which nothing could damp. If we are to believe his own modest account of himself, he was neither greatly learned, nor gifted with remarkable talents, having “ nothing besides a little popular oratory, and a sprinkling in the tongues as little.” His life appears to have been distinguished by no particular events to strike or dazzle a busy world. We find no biography of him, no record of any one work, pamphlet, sermon, or broad sheet, that he ever committed to the press. All we know is that, not being able conscientiously to absolve himself from the oath he had taken to James,

he was ejected from his Bishopric. Freely choosing poverty as his lot, rather than change his allegiance to his exiled King, he retired privately to a country village, where he lived to a great age in the full exercise of the priestly offices, in the bosom of the Anglican Church, and gave no trouble, nor entered into controversy with any one. Anthony Wood bestows two epithets upon him, — “the most religious, and conscientious Dr. Robert Frampton:” a short, but expressive character. He forsook houses and land—his palace and his See, for Christ’s sake, who hath promised in return “*an hundred fold, and the inheritance of everlasting life.*”

He was near 60 years of age, when Charles II. proposed to consecrate him to the See of Gloucester. One half of his revenues had always been dedicated to charitable uses: although he had held the Deanery of Gloucester for seven years, he was so poor that, in a letter to the Bishop of Norwich, he expresses an alarm lest the expense of taking the Bishopric should expose him to beggary, and his poor relations be reduced to the same peril also. After pleading his infirmities, and other reasons against it, he says, “My Lord, I do not write these things out of moroseness, fullness, ill nature, ambition of something higher than what is offered, or covetousness of something more profitable, or crafty desire to be further courted to this. God is my witness, ’tis none of these things, nor any else of ill aspect, but such an honest and impartial estimate as I have, and ought to make of myself, at such a conjuncture. Nor will I bely mine innocence or affection to the Church of Christ, or to his sacred Majesty. I

hope by God's grace I shall be ready to lay down my life for either, when need requires. My great fear is my incapacity: for let me tell you freely, my Lord, that besides a little popular oratory, and a sprinkling in the tongues as little, I have nothing else to recommend me to this or any other employment. None of those depths of knowledge in the Councils, Fathers, schoolmen, Church History, &c. which are essential to such a dignity, especially in such distracted times as our's are.

" 'Tis Christmas day, and though my pen be slippery on this occasion I restrain it: only I call God to witness, and that Holy Sacrament which I have this day received myself, and administered to others, that the premises are all true. I pray you to consider them seriously; the Shunamite's motto and mine are one; 'Shall I speak for thee,' saith Elisha, 'to the King, or to the Captain of the host?' 'I dwell,' saith she, 'among my own people.' Soe would I, if I might; and hope that soe I shall. If not, I am sure I have dealt as an honest man should doe.

" Craving your Lordship's blessing, I humbly kisse your hands, and am

Your Lord^{ps}. most dutyful Son and Servant,

" Gloucester, Dec. 25, 80."

ROBERT FRAMPTON."

When the Revolution was brought about, and he, as a Non-juror, was to give place to another Bishop, his deprivation occasioned him no personal concern: he laid down his pastoral staff in the same calm and happy spirit with which he had received it. Dr. Edward Fowler was appointed his successor. They were old

friends, and Frampton, who was a simple hearted man, felt no resentment against him. But, that he might not seem to acquiesce in the uncanonical act of his ejection, he left his servant in the palace at Gloucester, with orders to remain until he was forced away. Having so far entered his protest, he retired in peace to Avening, where he was permitted to live in the Parsonage House. Marshall says, "the good old Bishop of Gloucester constantly attended the Church, which he held in Commendam with his Bishopric, often catechized the children in the afternoon of Sundays, and expounded the sermon which had been preached in the morning by another person.*" "In fact he never forsook the public assemblies, nor ever would be induced to look upon the national Church as schismatical."†

So little did he personally regret the loss of his Bishopric that, when Fowler was known to be his successor, a friendly correspondence passed between them. Bishop Lloyd, hearing this, taxed him with voluntarily yielding up the Depositum: he wrote, therefore, to explain exactly what had passed: "As for the letters between me and Dr. Fowler, this is the account. He wrote to me about his election, his great unwillingness to accept, his care to prevent, and mighty grief when he could not do it. I to him thus, 'My most deare friend, for now I may call you soe more justly than ever, when you have got, and I lost, all:' adding that I believed what he wrote concerning his uneasiness,

* Defence of our Constitution, 1717, 8vo. p. 165.

† Character of a Primitive Bishop, p. 147.

because by word of mouth, and in writing, he had assured me that he would never take what I lost : and that though *I would never make a voluntary resignation*, and liked noe more than Q. Elizabeth to heare of a successor, yet if he must be the man, I would not repine, provided that he did his utmost to suppress, 1st. Atheism and prophaneness ; 2^{ndly}, that wicked spirit of Fanaticisme, which would never be at rest till it had ruined Church and State : 3^{rdly}, that the poison of Socinianisme, which had not yet reach't these parts, might never do it, noe not by his connivance, much lesse his approbation. To which he replied in a great distemper ; and I again as pleasantly. This is all as to that affaire." *

The following playful letter to Lloyd describes the entry of the intruding Bishop into Gloucester :

" HONEST JOHN,

" OUR new Bishop came downe about a weeke since, and had not his unseasonable modesty hindered it, by coming in the night, we had had as great a noyse with our bells and bonfires as you have had upon another occasion. But what was wanting in solemnity he himself made up by his preaching, Sunday was sen'ight, on these words, '*Swear not at all*,' by which he proved very learnedly the necessity of that late oath, and the great guilt of those that refuse it.

" All therefore was very well, save only that Satan himselfe, as some thinke, or some of his instruments, threw a stone through the window towards the pulpit, which is yet to be seen ; but to noe purpose, for the preacher went on, and the people fate still.

* Dr. Williams's MSS. Collection.

“We had good hopes that our quondam Bishop [meaning himself] on the arrival of his successor, coadjutor, locum tenens, or whatever other title he ought to have, would have come to towne presently, or a little while after, to have bid him welcome, and wish him all joy, as is customary, you know, and natural in such cases. But he is the same morose, fullen, ill-natured man (for which he is so justly hated) as heretofore: for he neither comes, nor sends, neither letter nor good-handfell, nor any other thing, as Lordships in such cases are bound to doe; and yet lives but five miles from the place, which makes it look scurvily.

“I would you, or some others, that are friends to peace, and brotherly love, would by your letters try to cure him [Frampton *i. e.*] of that frowardnesse, which makes him the most unfociable creature in the world: for he is as rough as a beare to us, if we doe but touch him; in short we may as safely take up an hedgehog with our naked hands, when his bristles are all up on ranke and file together.

“And yet notwithstanding these great demerits, the new-come good man, as he is, sent him word but yesterday that he was infinitely troubled to take his place, and would joyfully quit it againe, if Sir John Surly would but make himselfe capable of resuming it. In short we know not well which to admire most, the sweetnesse of the one, or the fownesse of the other. You are utterly mistaken, if you looke for any more at present from

“Your’s, such as he is,

“Oct. 19th, 1791.”

N. G. T. W.*

(“Not Gloucester to wit.”)

* Dr. Williams’s MS. Collection.

Lloyd sent this letter to Sancroft, who says, "I return you with thanks the pleasant Epistle of our dear Brother, who in truth is as very an εἰρων as ever old Socrates was, and a better philosopher, and infinitely a better man. If he that is to go to York had the perusal of it, it might convince him that we are not all peevish and morose, and ill natur'd; but that some of us enjoy as great calm and serenity as they in their ill-gotten grandeur." *

Many years after his deprival (in February, 1699) writing to Bishop Lloyd, Frampton mentions having sustained a loss of 350*l.* formerly lent to a faithless friend who would not now repay him. "But God's will be done on me and mine; this loss shall never break my heart, or sleep, or that peace of mind which I enjoy, and hope still to enjoy through His mercy. The same mercy keep you, my dear Brother, from such disasters, and give you comfort in all things. But what comfort can you or I take in any earthly thing, when the name and honour and dignity of our deare Saviour is so vilified by lewd wretches and apostates in London: as I hear it is by two letters thence. The weather is wondrous cold, and if the said rascals, or abettors, want a fire in Smithfield, let 'em send for me to make them one; by God's grace I would in death itselfe owne, and glorifie, what they deride. Farewell, my dearest. Pray for

"Yours unfeignedly and for ever,

ROBERT FRAMPTON GLOUCESTER." †

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collection.

† Ibid.

Ken and Frampton, suffering in the same cause, kept up their friendly intercourse. Ken describes to Lloyd a visit he paid to him at Avening in 1703. He calls him "our good brother of Gloucester, who was not a little joyed to see me. He is very cheerful, and being past eighty does not only daily expect, but, like St. Paul, longs for his dissolution. He has many infirmities of old age, but his eyes are very good, and he uses no spectacles. With all the tenderness imaginable he remembers your Lordship."* About the same time Frampton gives the following account of himself, in answer to the friendly enquiries of Lloyd.

"My good Lord and dearest Brother :

"BEHOLD here, in pure obedience to your L^d's will, a letter from me, such an one as it is, and may well be supposed to be, when I am not only superannuated, having passed my fourscorth yeare, and mightily burthened with such infirmities as soe great an age may be supposed to be.

"But be these things as they will, or rather as my good Maker pleaseth, it is not in the power of tyme, or outward accidents, to alter y^e inward disposition of my soule, God be blessed for it, and by his grace it never shall be. Noe, I love Him above all things with my whole heart and soule—next to Him all good men and women in y^e world, because they beare his image. Especially my noble friends, such as your good L^d and y^e two most Honourable persons whom you mention. I hate noe one person in the world, not those that have

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 60.

done me most wrong. Am as content as any man alive can be, want nothing that is necessary, though my superfluities are passed away. Also am willing to leave this world, soe soon as my blessed Maker pleaseth. Only sorry that I cannot lay down my life by way of martyrdom for His sake. Pray you for me that my exit hence, and my being for ever after, may be happy to me.

“ This I pray for you, for them, and for all others.
Farewell. Yours most unfeignedly

“May 12, 1703. ROBERT FRAMPTON, once B. G.

“ I daily aske God’s pardon for w^t hath bin amiss in my life, and would do it day by day, if I were to live a thousand years more.”

Such was Bishop Frampton. Unwavering stedfastness of Faith was his strength: simple minded, and careful for his flock, he never placed them in any difficulty, but kept them true to the Church, though they were under the rule of an intruder. In this he followed the example of many eminent primitive Bishops, who made every personal sacrifice to prevent the disturbance of unity. His cheerful and benevolent disposition, blending with a Christian boldness, was so kindred to the temper of Ken, we cannot wonder they should have such an esteem for each other, as their letters express. The circumstances of Ken’s earlier life had brought his natural gifts and powers into more prominent view, and placed him in a wider range of usefulness. But Frampton was in heart and act an equally devoted confessor to the sacred cause of his Heavenly Master.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Ken survives all the other deprived Bishops. Controversy among the Nonjurors. Ken recommends all to conform to the Church. Hickes and others refuse.

BY the death of Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, on the 1st of January, 1710, Ken was left the only deprived Bishop. Having long since acquiesced in Hooper's succession, and so often expressed a desire that the schism should be healed, no one could doubt he would use his influence to bring back the nonjurors to the Church. Hitherto the whole party, or as Dodwell calls them, "our little flock," had agreed in asserting the spiritual rights of the deprived, and many had abstained from holding communion with their rival Bishops, or the clergy who adhered to them. But now, if Ken should absolutely forego his episcopal rights, there could be no ground for continuing the separation. This was the opinion of Dodwell, Nelson, Brokesby, and others, because as there were no longer any dispossessed Bishops, they who had been appointed to their sees, though originally schismatical, were now valid: they had been *nulli*, because *secundi*; but this nullity having ceased, it was the duty of all to acknowledge their authority. "There will now," says Dodwell, "be no seconds, but only single persons, in actual possession of the episcopal jurisdictions, whereof no

more than one at once can be lawfully possessed. Here, therefore, there can be no schism, where there is no altar against altar." *

On the other hand, Hickes, Wagstaffe, Collier, and Brett, held that the new Bishops, having once violated the principles of the Church, in accepting the sees of the deprived, were unworthy of trust: they had been guilty of schism, and so rendered themselves incapable. In the sense of the primitive Church any overt act of schism needs no judicial sentence of deprivation: from that time forward they ceased to be true Bishops. Having been destroyers of the unity of the Spirit, they thereby lost all their rights. In order to the recovering of their forfeited unity, they must make an acknowledgment of error, and be restored by consent of the Church. Therefore until they made satisfaction, and publicly renounced the doctrines by which they had maintained the schism, and obtained reconciliation, they were not to be accounted as in communion. In short they were to confess themselves to have been intruders, and the deceased Bishops to have been the only rightful possessors of the sees, and wrongfully deprived for maintaining true Catholic doctrine. If they would not do this, all who would keep clear of schism and heresy ought to refuse to communicate with them.†

In the course of this new controversy, which like most others led to some sharp reproaches on both sides, and personal reflections, it came to be generally known that Hickes and Wagstaffe had been appointed by

* Dodwell's "Case in View," p. 28.

† The Constitution of the Catholic Church, and the nature and consequences of Schism, considered. 1716, 8vo.

Lloyd as his suffragans to Thetford and Ipswich. This fact had till now been carefully concealed, for fear the parties might incur the penalty of the law. Dodwell and his friends, who maintained that the original schism was at an end, denied the validity of the clandestine consecrations. If Lloyd, before his deprivation, had no authority to appoint suffragans, he could have still less afterwards, when another was in possession of his see. There was no evidence brought forward to authenticate these consecrations: Hickes and Wagstaffe had not been put into possession of any particular church, nor advanced any claim of jurisdiction. They did not even now do so: all they pretended to was a spiritual succession. Yet they held that "the true Church Regent, or College of Bishops, and the true Church of England depending upon it, are in the little, and faithful—suffering number, and will be in those, who regularly succeed them in the royal priesthood, unto the end of the world." * The claim was imaginary—the prophecy unfulfilled, as the event proved.

Ken did not embark in these discussions: but his sentiments were promptly expressed in action. Within ten days after the death of Lloyd, he received a letter from Dodwell, to say that it was now in his power to free, not only his own diocese, but the whole national church, from the schism, introduced by filling the sees of the deprived Bishops: he therefore requested him to declare whether he so far claimed his rights, as to justify the continuance of separate communions on his ac-

* Constitution of the Catholic Church, p. 103.

count. * His answer was, "In that you are pleased to ask me, whether I insist on my episcopal claims? my answer is that I do not: and that I have no reason to insist on it, in regard that I made cession to my present most worthy successor; who came into the fold by my free consent and approbation. As for any clandestine claim, my judgment was always against it; and I had nothing to do with it, foreseeing that it would perpetuate a schism, which I found very afflicting to good people scattered in the country, where they could have no divine offices performed. I was always tender of the peace of the Church, especially in this age of irreligion; I always thought that *multitudo peccantium* might justify some relaxation of canonical strictness." †

Robert Nelson wrote to ask the same question, and Ken replied, "in regard to the clandestine consecrations, I was always against them, as I foresaw they would perpetuate the schism, and declared against the practice, and had acted accordingly, and would not have it laid at my door, having made a recess for a much more worthy person. I apprehend it was always the judgment of my brethren, that the death of the canonical Bishops would render the invaders canonical, in regard schism is not to be always." ‡

These answers determined the majority of Nonjurors to return to the bosom of the Church. Nelson and Dodwell, of whom the former was always called the "pious Mr. Nelson," acted as became lovers of peace; they went to church with their families on the 26th of

* Marshall's Defence of our Constitution in Church and State. Appendix ix.

† Ibid. Appendix xvii.

‡ Ibid. Appendix xv.

February, 1710, being the first Sunday in Lent. We can understand how joyful the event must have been to them. What is our home, what all the possessions of the earth, compared with the gladness of joining in the public worship of God? The world has nothing it can barter for such a privilege.

"Of all the places here
None pictures the celestial sphere
More than God's house of pray'r,
When faithful souls sing praises there:
When heav'n and earth conspire
In one harmonious hymning Quire.
O may we, free from wilful, sensual taints,
Live in communion with supernal Saints."*

Mr. Lathbury, † in his valuable "History of the Nonjurors," has elaborately traced the after-wanderings of those who held to the schism. Their great leader was Mr. George Hickes, one of the most erudite men of his day. No one better understood the doctrines, constitution, and discipline of the church in the purest ages of Christianity, or was more thoroughly persuaded that the Anglican Church was their most perfect example. His writings are principally controversial, both in politics and religion. Among these last we have his excellent treatise, "*Speculum Beatæ Virginis*," a "Vindication of the Church of England," and many others against the errors of Rome. He was well known to foreigners, as the author of learned works on the language, and antiquities, of the Saxon, Danish, and other northern nations, in which he was

* Ken's Poems, vol. i. p. 409.

† Author also of a "History of the Convocation:" and of "A History of the English Episcopacy, from 1640 to 1662," &c. &c.

profoundly versed. Yet we see in him a signal instance of the wanderings into which many are led, spite of their learning, and personal holiness;—how the acuteness of the human intellect, unconsciously prompted by the sympathies of the mind, will draw out finely spun webs of colourable distinctions, of which men become so enamoured, as to sacrifice the dearest objects of life, and all their long-formed, and soundest convictions, rather than compromise one point of their new standard of truth.

Wagstaffe having died in the midst of the controversy, Hickes considered himself the only true Bishop of England. In order to continue the “valid succession,” he called to his aid two of the non-juring Bishops of Scotland. These three consecrated Collier, Hawes, and Spinckes, to a nominal Episcopate. It might have been expected that, professing a zealous attachment to the sacred cause of unity, they would be ready to forego something of their own will to maintain it. But manifold experience shows that, in the infinite diversities of theological opinion, unity is not to be found on earth. Hickes, Collier, and the others, now began to see that “The Order of administration of the Holy Communion” in the Church of England was faulty, as it differed from the first Book of Edward 6th, and was not in accordance with primitive usage. They would, therefore, restore the Mixed Cup, the Prayer for the Dead, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the sacramental Elements, and the Prayer of Oblation to express that the Eucharist is a Proper Sacrifice.

Hickes shortly afterwards died, and Collier took the lead: but his views of the Communion Office were

opposed by his two brother Bishops, Hawes and Spinckes,—also by Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford, who afterwards were consecrated to the Non-juring Episcopate. On the other hand he was supported by Brett, the Scotch Bishop Campbell, and others. To maintain the soundness of his views, Collier published a book, entitled “REASONS for restoring some prayers in the Communion service.” This was answered by “No sufficient REASONS for restoring,” &c. Then came a “Defence of the REASONS.” After that, “No necessity to alter the Common Prayer, being a full Answer to the ‘REASONS,’” &c. Then followed “The necessity to alter the Common Prayer, being a Reply to the ‘No Necessity,’ with a Vindication of the ‘REASONS,’ and ‘Defence,’” &c. And still the series proceeded with no settlement of the question in dispute.

The works of learned Mr. Thomas Brett, who had already entered the lists, are of extreme interest. In order to prepare his readers for his arguments in favour of the restored usage of Edward 6th, he embodied in his work copies of all the ancient Liturgies,* beginning with the Clementine, which was prior to the Council of Nicæa. Though he very fully exposes the innovations of the Roman Missal on the primitive office, he did not escape the imputation of Popery. The same charge was made against Collier, with as little foundation. It is, indeed, difficult to say of what com-

* Collection of the different Liturgies, with a Dissertation upon them. 1720, 4to. A Dissertation on the principal Liturgies used by the Christian Church in the celebration of the Eucharist. 1720, 8vo.

munion they were : they denounced the Roman, and disavowed the Anglican,—published their own *Service-book*, and at length issued a prohibition against holding communion with any who adhered to the “*Book of Common Prayer*.” Having already thrown off their allegiance to the English Church, it was natural they should disregard her Liturgy ; nor can we be surprised that they ended in denying her Catholicity. The *Book of Prayer* is part of her order of discipline, as well as an exposition of doctrine, and without discipline no community, whether ecclesiastical, or secular, can maintain unity or life. If every Priest, according to his own views and judgment, may set up his standard of ministrations, where is to be drawn the limit of conformity ?

The history of these later nonjurors shows the inconsistencies, to which men may be involved by a yearning after a partial restoration of antiquity. Being alien from the Church of England, and sincerely opposed to the errors of Rome, they sought a refuge from their self-imposed isolation in the arms of the Greek Church. No part of Mr. Lathbury’s work is more interesting than his detailed account of their negotiations with the Patriarchs, and Bishops of the East, in the hope of effecting an union. It is clear, throughout, that the only terms on which the Greek Church would receive them into communion, were those of perfect conformity to the doctrines and ritual of the East. The Patriarchs designate the opinions of the “*suffering Catholic Bishops of the old Constitution of Britain*, (as the nonjurors styled themselves) relative to the Eucharist, as blasphemous, being opposed to

Transubstantiation.”* They require them to receive consecration at their hands ; and as to their proposal for the adoption of the Liturgy of King Edward the 6th, they reply, that “ the Oriental orthodox Church acknowledges but one Liturgy, the same which was delivered down by the Apostles, but written by the first Bishop of Jerusalem, James, the brother of God, and afterwards abbreviated, upon account of its length, by the great Father Basil, and afterwards again epitomized by John, the golden-tongued Patriarch of Constantinople, which from the times of Basil, and Chrysostom, until now, the oriental orthodox Church receives, and uses every where, and by them administers the Unbloody Sacrifice in every Church of the orthodox. It is proper therefore that they who are called the ‘ remnant of primitive piety ’ should, when they are united to us, make use of those, that in this point also there may be no discord between us ; but that they, as well as we, should on proper days officiate by the Liturgy of St. Basil, and daily by that of St. Chrysostom.” †

The nonjurors objected to Transubstantiation, the Seven Sacraments, the Invocation of the Virgin, Saints, and Angels, and to receiving the Seven General Councils as of equal authority with the Scriptures, “ for they could not believe the Fathers of those Councils were assisted by an equal degree of inspiration with the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles. And as to the Seventh General Council, assembled at Nice, they thought themselves obliged to declare that they could

* Lathbury's History of the Nonjurors, p. 325.

† Ibid. p. 322.

not assent to the giving even the worship *Dulia* to Angels or departed Saints." The Patriarchs replied to the Nonjurors, that these disagreements were "not to be wondered at, for, being born and educated in the principles of the *Lutheran Calvinists*, and possessed with their prejudices, they tenaciously adhere to them, like ivy to a tree, and are hardly drawn off."*

At length, in 1723, after a long and interrupted correspondence, the Patriarch sent their ultimatum, as the result of a Synod of the Greek Church. They state that "their doctrines had been decided upon, and that it is neither lawful to add anything to them, nor take anything from them: those who are disposed to agree with us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith must necessarily follow, and submit to, what has been defined, and determined by ancient Fathers, and Œcumenical Synods, from the time of the Apostles, and their holy Successors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time. We say, they must submit to them with sincerity and obedience, and without any scruple or dispute. And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written." The letter was signed by the four Patriarchs, and several archbishops and bishops, dated September, 1723; and, that there might be no mistake as to what "the Catholic Remnant of Great Britain" were to adopt, they enclosed an Exposition of the Orthodox Faith of the Eastern Church, agreed upon in a Synod, called the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.†

* Lathbury's History of the Nonjurors, p. 324.

† Ibid. p. 350. In the course of this correspondence the Patriarchs of the East are not sparing in their censures of the "Pope of Rome;" they describe him to be "deceived by the devil, and fall-

So ended the proposal. It seems strange that a handful of English Divines, having no jurisdiction in any portion of the Church Catholic, should for a moment entertain the project of binding to their own views the Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of "all the Oriental Churches of the orthodox Greeks, Russians, Iberians, Arabians, and many other orthodox nations." But they had worked themselves, step by step, to the full persuasion that theirs was the true standard of the orthodox, and Catholic Faith. And though that standard had but lately been adopted by themselves, they now felt it necessary that all other minds should follow on the same track, to the same point, and no further.

However mistaken might be this remnant of the party, it is impossible not to reverence the nonjurors, as a class. They do honour to the English character: they endured the loss of all temporal benefits in the cause of, what seemed to them, necessary truth. The extent of their learning, far beyond that of after-times, their fervent piety, unbending courage, and self-sacrifice, shed a lustre on their names. In the spirit of the primitive Christians they were prepared to suffer all

ing into strange novel doctrines, as revolted from the unity of the holy Church, and cut off, tossed at a distance with constant waves and tempest, till he return to our Catholic, Oriental, immaculate faith, and be reinstated from whence he was broken off." They declare "the Purgatorial fire to have been invented by the Papists to command the purse of the ignorant, and we will by no means hear of it. For it is a fiction, and a doting fable, invented for lucre, and to deceive the simple, and, in a word, has no existence but in the imagination. There is no appearance or mention of it in the Holy Scriptures, or Fathers, whatsoever the authors or abettors of it may clamour to the contrary."

extremities in defence of Catholic principles : and this in an ultra-Protestant age, when a false liberalism bestowed on each man the right to shape immutable truth to his own reception.

The History of the early Martyrs, and Confessors, comes down to us, hallowed by the remoteness of their age : seen through the long vista of centuries, they are grand and venerable in our eyes. Yet they were feeble, and poor, and of mean appearance : it was that *within* which ennobled them ;—their disregard of self, immovable steadfastness of purpose, the bright visions of faith, that led them to dare all for the love of God. It was their sense of the dignity of things spiritual, as a deposit in their hands, beyond the wealth of kingdoms, which makes them illustrious. Thus it was, in their very humble sphere, with the despised company of Nonjurors : and so long as our literature, and our records remain, how poor and small will party writers, controversialists, and historians appear by the side of the devoted band, whom they have derided for their much-tried endurance. To all who love the Church of England, Ken, and his fellow-sufferers, will be cheering lights to the irresolute,—guiding beacons to the courageous, in the sacred cause of Truth.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Ken's last Sickness,—Death,—and Burial. Conclusion.

THE Nonjurors continued to debate on Ken's last public act. Some thought his resignation "a strange humour,"—a compromise,—the abandonment of a noble pre-eminence, as the sole remaining canonical Bishop in England. They would have him declare against the whole national Church, as a secession from the true Catholic faith. By others he was more than ever revered, for that they could now conscientiously attend the public ordinances, without fear of schism. Himself, meanwhile, was agonized with constant paroxysms of pain, which "was his familiar grown," haunting him day and night.* Death had marked him for his own: or, to speak more truly, God was graciously pleased to intimate to him that he should be gathered into His kingdom, and rest with the elect. We cannot bear to dwell on this last suffering year of his eventful life. The Hot Wells of Bristol, and of Bath, and all the remedies of the physicians, served, as he says, rather to irritate than relieve the "anguors," of more than one fatal complaint. Wheresoever he went, whatever he did, he bore about with him a living death.

Deeply affecting are those "*Anodynes, or Alleviations of Pain*," and "*Preparations for Death*," in his volumes

* Ken's Poems, vol. iii. p. 457.

of poetry : for they reveal an intensity of unmitigated pains, endured with all Christian meekness in submissive, but anxious, hope and expectancy of his release. Writing and singing hymns were his chief solace: they turned his moanings into "soft penitential sighs," his tears to the meekness of love ;

" Ejaculations Heav'n-ward sent,
Procure sweet ease, and sorrow vent,
Why should I, then, my pains decline,
Inflited by pure Love divine?
Let them run out their destin'd course,
And spend upon me all their force ;
Short pains can never grievous be,
Which work a blest Eternity." *

" Though on my cheerful wires I play,
And sing severntimes a-day,
My love shall ever keep on wing,
Incessantly shall Heav'n-ward spring ;
Love the beloved still keeps in mind,
Loves all day long, and will not be confin'd." †

He had long since expressed how entirely he felt loosened from the world, "so that I have now nothing to do but to think of eternity," or, as he elsewhere expresses it,

" Have nought to do but pray, and love, and *die*," ‡

That word, which to the natural man sounds awfully, awakened thoughts of freedom to Ken, longing for heavenly bliss.

" Though Death, the King of Terrors stil'd,
Frights souls, while here from Heav'n exil'd,

* Ken's Poems, vol. iii. p. 423.

† Ibid. iii. p. 476.

‡ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 157.

He's but a despicable thing,
 A petty tributary King.
 Souls who in God benign confide,
 Have the Almighty on their side."*

He speaks with grateful affection of friends who sympathize in his sufferings; but all their counsels, all their comforts, are vain. Then he turns to Jesus, whose mercies sweetly invite him to repent, who receives him in His arms, and cancels all the debt against him. To Jesus he discloses all his wants, and reposes on His boundless love, which softens the rude anguish of his trembling frame. He now expresses himself more than ever conscious how near to him are the glories of the spiritual world: angels and saints seem to herald the message of his release; already 'twas but a slight veil which separated them from view. A blessed, near invisible—radiant, though unseen, to all who are not dull of understanding: for it shines like mid-day to the souls of believers.

"No language can reveal
 The pleasing trance which now I feel,
 My ease, my sleep, strange transports seem;
 Of everlasting joys I dream;
 Congratulate the blest,
 And long to share in Heavenly Rest." &c.

And again,

"Heaven's joys in miniature I see,
 From pain when a few moments free;
 Methinks I am entranc'd
 Into initial bliss advanc'd,
 And big with Hymn I glow,
 Wrapt blissfully with God below:
 From thence I guess th' immense delight
 Of the eternal beatifick fight."

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 75.

That he might keep the thought of death fixed and familiar, "he had travelled for many years with his Shroud in his portmantua, which he often said, '*might be as soon wanted as any other of his habiliments.*'" * His purpose also was to prevent any exposure of his person after death. There was a sentiment in this, deeper than common, and in harmony with his character. Through life he had dedicated his virgin body to God; so in death he would have it consigned to the earth with a modest reserve, as something entitled to honour: it was the "seat of the soul," the temple of the Holy Ghost, which had so often partaken of the holy Elements, and should hereafter be raised a glorified body, and re-united to its kindred spirit;

"Though soul and flesh shall parted be,
They'll meet in blest Eternity." †

There are several passages in the Poems expressive of this feeling;

The Resurrection.

"Great day, to mortals kept unknown,
When the Arch-Angel from the Throne
Shall on his radiant wings appear,
And hov'ring o'er this lower sphere,
His trumpet blow, whose mighty sound
Shall undulate the globe around,
All sep'rate souls, where'er they dwell,
In the Out-courts of Heaven or Hell,
Soon as they hear, shall summons have
To fly to each appropriate Grave,
And their corporeal form resume,
To wait their everlasting doom." †

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 44.

† Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 47.

‡ Ibid.

In his "*Preparatives for Death*," we have a clear exposition of this scriptural doctrine of

The State of Separation.

which is the title of one of those poems. The body, he says, dissolves to earth from whence it sprung,—the soul returns to its Maker.

"And there God on the Soul will shine,
Some Mansion for her will assign ;
While all the sep'rate Souls in bliss
Salute her with a peaceful kiss,
And a triumphant hymn begin
For her escape from woe, and sin.

"Yet faithful Souls are but half blest,
Till glorious bodies them invest ;
They live in acquiescence sweet,
Till they have happiness compleat,
Would not compleatly happy be,
Till God the moment shall decree.

"Saints thus Celestial joys foretaste,
And when their vital spirits waste,
While gently death lays flesh asleep,
Their souls celestial vigils keep ;
They Jesus see, they hear his voice,
They wakefully love—hymn—rejoice." *

The Saints with Jesus.

"Soul, when your flesh dissolves to dust,
To God's safe hands yourself entrust ;
Be not too curious to enquire,
Where to aspire.

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 91.

“Whether to Paradise you fly,
Or in blest’d Abram’s bosom lye,
Or to that orb your flight you raise,
Where Enoch stays.

“Or to the third Celestial sphere,
Where wonders Paul was wrapt to hear,
Or Hades blest’d, where souls Elect
Full bliss expect.

“Blest’d Jesus, boundless bliss divine,
On you in miniature will shine,
Glory for glory, beam for beam,
Will on you stream.”*

One more “Anodyne” may be permitted before
we commit his body to the grave.

“O had I wings of a swift Dove,
That hov’ring in expanse above,
I might some place descry,
Instantly thither fly;
Where, I abiding in sweet rest,
No Pain, no sorrow, might my soul infect.

“I then would higher soar, and cast
My eyes o’er the Ethereal vast;
One place is in my thought,
O were I thither brought,
Though my frail flesh I still retain’d,
I should love God, sing Hymns, and not be pain’d.

“It is the sphere of endless day
Where Enoch and Elias stay;
Where they can sin no more,
Where they great God adore;
There at their sacred feet I’d kneel,
And kindle from their Hymns celestial zeal.

* Ken’s Poems, vol. iv. p. 143.

"I'll never envy that blest'd pair,
 Saints here on earth like bliss may share ;
 Saints free from wilful sin
 Feel the like joys within ;
 And while they copy the Lamb slain,
 God sweetens all their sorrow and their pain."*

With these thoughts God mercifully prepared His holy servant for death. He had lived in a spirit of poverty, and mortification of will, ever preparing himself for the last hour ; and when that hour struck, his breathings after eternal life had no alloy of fear. He realized the beatitudes of his loved Saviour, in faith of His precious merits alone ; "Blessed are the poor in spirit : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart : for they shall see God."

And where was he to die ? he had spent the summer and autumn of 1710 at Bristol, for the benefit of the Hot Well : then he removed to Leweston, near Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, "a seat belonging to the Hon^{ble}. Mrs. Thynne, whose good works merited his respect, and acknowledgement, as much as her generosity attempted the relief of his distemper."† There he was detained many months, having been seized with a dead palsy on one side of him, and was confined to his chamber till the middle of March, 1711. Then he resolved to try once more if he could obtain relief from the Bath waters. But it was decreed he should not die any where but at Long Leat, which is hallowed by his name, and the near neighbourhood of his grave.

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. pp. 442-3,

† Hawkins, p. 42.

What place so fitting as the well-known, much-loved, refuge of his last twenty years? It was the best return he could make for all the benefits he had received from his faithful, enduring friend, Lord Weymouth: "I can but give you my all—myself—my poor heart, and my last blessing."

Mrs. Thynne endeavoured to dissuade him from attempting to remove; but as he thought himself strong enough to travel, she sent him in her coach as far as Long Leat,* where he had no sooner arrived than he was sensible of what was to follow. His desired release was at hand: "*his shroud was by himself put on* by way of prevention,† that his body might not be stripp'd, and this he notified to those about him." He had only time to adjust some papers: probably many of inestimable interest were committed to the flames, and hence the few memorials that remain to us. Two physicians attended him; Dr. Merewether of Bath, and Dr. Bevison from Devizes: the short notices of him in the Diary of the former show how he revered him. "They told him, in answer to his own enquiry, that he had about two or three days to live: his only reply was, *God's will be done*,—his usual expression, and that without the least concern, desiring that no application might be made to cause him to linger in pain."‡ He told them "he had no reason to be afraid of dying,§ and therefore desired they would tell him the truth." "He dozed much the day

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 44.

‡ Dr. Merewether's Diary. Bowles's Life, vol. ii. p. 267.

§ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 44.

or two before he died ; and what little he spake was sometimes not coherent, which (being plied with opiates) seem'd to be rather the effect of dream than distemper." * "He would fain have given his servant a message for Bishop Hooper, but could not make himself understood, any more than that he mentioned his best friend." † No doubt the dying Prelate associated with the thought of Hooper the remembrance of his beloved flock, many of whom he had trained for a happy reunion, and companionship in the mansions of the blessed. Thither his soul escaped on the 19th of March, 1711.

He had desired that, wherever he might die, he should be buried "*in the Church yard* of the nearest Parish within his Diocese, ‡ under the east window of the Chancel, just at sun rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, besides that of the Order for Burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England, *"—and to be carried to the grave by the six poorest men in the Parish. § He directed that a plain stone should be laid over him, with the following inscription of his own composing ;

" May the here interred Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and uncanonically deprived for not transferring his allegiance, have a perfect consummation in Blisse, both of body and soul, at the Great Day, of which God Keep me alwaies mindful." ||

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 45.

† Prowse MS. Life of Hooper.

‡ This was "Froome-Selwood," a few miles from Long Leat, Horningham Church not being within the Diocese of Wells.

§ Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

|| Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 30.

He would have had his very epitaph teach the passers-by to offer up a holy aspiration, at least, if not a prayer; "God Keep me alwaies mindful of the Great Day." In all this we see that he died, as he lived, a plain humble man.* Christians of old had a solemn feeling of the sacredness of Churches: even their founders thought themselves scarce worthy to be buried within the Porch of the sanctuary, dedicated to God's honour. So Ken would sleep in the Church yard, among the lowly of the earth,† to whom he had preached the glad tidings of a better hereafter. He had dined with his poor ones in the Palace at Wells;—now he would receive the last service at their hands, and be carried by them to the grave, which levels all distinctions.

We may presume that it was Lord Weymouth who gave directions for the singular monument which covers the remains of his friend. It is, as Mr. Markland describes, "an iron grating, coffin shaped, surmounted by a mitre and pastoral staff, touching and beautiful in its character."‡ In Froome Church, near to the spot where he himself now rests, one who resembles his early friend, Lady Margaret Maynard, in a devout and charitable life, has lately placed a richly painted window in memory of his Christian graces. And is the poor dust, mouldering beneath yon iron grating,

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

† "The poor, whilst living, he did ne'er despise;
Among the poor, now dead, he humbly lies."

Poem on the death of Thomas KENN, by Mr. Joseph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureat.

‡ Markland's Life of Ken, p. 112.

all that remains to us of Bishop Ken? Far from it: he has left us his example, the rich legacy of a holy life. By this he points our way to the Courts of Heaven. In this he yet lives to us; by this he strengthens, comforts, sustains, and guides us, if we will be followers of him, as he was of Christ. From his practical teaching of a long and changeful life we may learn the duties of our allotted sphere; to go forward in quietness and confidence; to love and to obey; to abound in alms-giving,* and to be faithful to the Church of our baptism.

We have, moreover, in his published works a lively impress of the spirit which animated him while on earth. They are comparatively little known; and the present unworthy attempt to throw light on his character is

* In the moment of closing our volume, one who has a special claim to admire the Bishop's character brings to our notice two additional instances of his habitual charity to the poor, and disregard for his own rights, when opposed to the interests of the Church. He has discovered them in Thomas Hearne's MSS. Journals, in the Bodleian.

"Jan. 1, 1724. I am told by old Mr. N. Cox, the Bookfeller, who was once a Querister of New College, at least went to school there when a boy, that he remembers Bp. Ken a B. A. of that College, and that he was even then, when young, very pious and charitable, and used always to have small money to give away constantly, as he walked the streets, in pence, or two-pences, or more at a time, as he saw proper objects."—Vol. cvi. p. 27.

"June 16, 1722." (Speaking of Glastonbury.) "I am told the impropriation there is in the Bp. of Bath and Wells, and the Church served by a Vicar or Curate at a very small allowance. That Bp. Ken resolved to increase it upon renewing with his Tenant; but they could not agree, and the Tenant tempted him often with the Fine, before his deprivation, to no purpose."—Vol. xciv. p. 132.

made in the hope of leading some to a closer study of his writings. They are few and short—but they are golden all. Many writers have left behind them folios of divinity, history and ethics ; rich stores of every kind, invaluable records of truth, depositaries of learning, expositions of doctrine, commentaries on Scripture, irrefragable proofs of the sure foundations, on which our Christian Faith is builded up. Out of these we draw, as occasions serve,—now for one good purpose, then for another ; and we cherish the names of the authors with deserved reverence. But, as a devotional writer, Bishop Ken stands among the very first ;—and because prayer is the key to unlock Heaven's gates, his works are second to few in importance and interest. "Prayer," he says, "is our Treasury where all blessings are kept, our Armoury where all our strength and weapons are stored, the only great preservative, and the very vital heat of Divine Love."

And lastly he has bequeathed to us in his Will a pledge, which in this wavering age is of inestimable value, his ever-memorable testimony to the true orthodox, primitive, and Catholic doctrines of the Church of England. In this, and for this,—our loved Church,—he was early nurtured : he devoted all the energies and gifts of his maturer life to defend her integrity,—in his advancing years he sacrificed all he had on earth to be a Confessor to the enduring vitality of her spiritual nature ;—and at his death he crowned a life of faithful allegiance to her by a declaration of Attachment, which ought to be inscribed in the hearts of all her true children.

"As for my Religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, profess'd by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West: more particularly I die in the Communion of y^e Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papall and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Crosse."

If at any time men of tender consciences, in their aspirations after some ideal perfection, be tempted to swerve from their obedience to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, let them study the writings of humble, simple-hearted, steadfast, Bishop Ken, (steadfast, *because* humble, and simple-hearted) and they will find solid arguments to preserve them from "widening her deplorable divisions," and to inspire them with his own firm resolves to "continue steadfast in her bosom, and improve all those helps to true piety, all those means of grace, all those incentives to the love of God," which He has mercifully afforded to them "in her Communion."*

Above all let us follow him into his closet, and join with him in his prayers. They are suited to all ages, —to every varying circumstance of trial or of need. There are praises in joy, thanksgivings for mercies, penitential sighs for the contrite, breathings of faith for the broken and afflicted heart,—aspirations of heavenly love for devout souls, raising them to the spiritual vision of the glories of the eternal Throne. They are fitted for every hour, and for every place: we may use them as we walk by the way, as we rise in the

* Practice of Divine Love, p. 48.

morning, or commit ourselves to sleep, or lie wakeful ; —as we travel, as we dwell at home ;—a Companion for the Altar, and a Manual of devotions to keep alive, and cherish, the heavenly influences, imparted to us in the Holy Eucharist.

We humbly conclude in his own words, often addressed to those who differed from him, “ MAY GOD KEEP US IN HIS HOLY FEAR, AND MAKE US ALL WISE FOR ETERNITY.” AMEN.





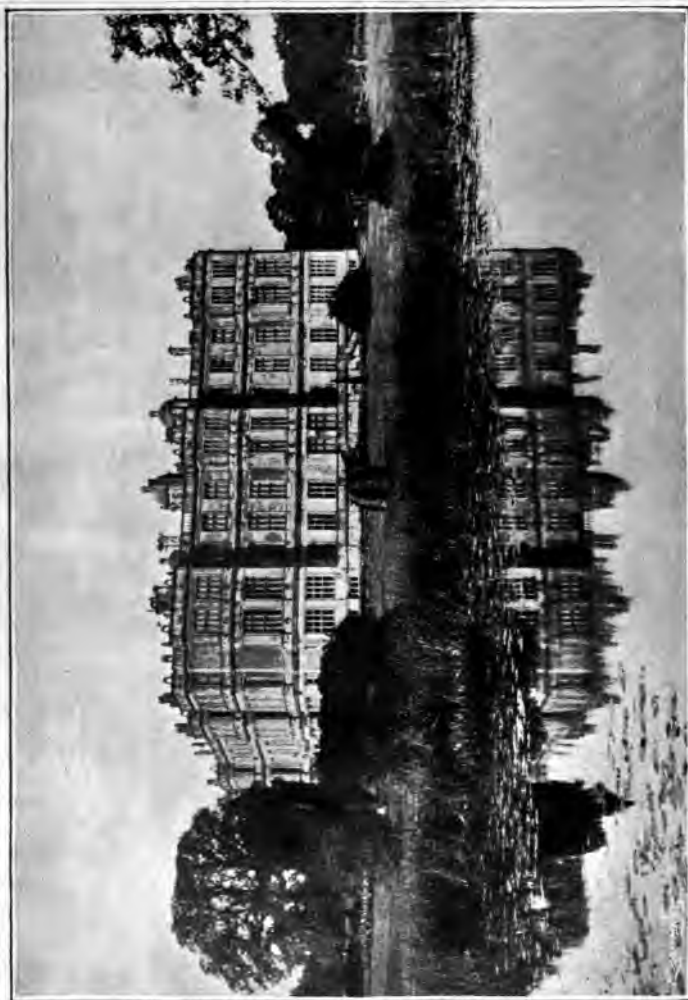
BISHOP KEN.



APPENDIX.

A B & C.





[J. Bell

Longfist

Photo by]

BISHOP KEN'S
MORNING, EVENING AND MIDNIGHT
HYMNS.

Fac-simile of the Original Tune of Bishop Ken's Evening
The Eighth Tune.

Meane.



Contratenor.



Evening Hymn.

515

by Tallis, in Archbishop Parker's Psalter.

Tenor.



Bass.



*A short score for the Organ of the tune of
Bishop Ken's Evening Hymn.*

The image displays a short score for an organ, consisting of five systems of two staves each. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The notation is as follows:

- System 1:** Treble staff has a melody of eighth notes: F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4. Bass staff has a accompaniment of eighth notes: F#3, G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3.
- System 2:** Treble staff has a melody of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4. Bass staff has a accompaniment of eighth notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3.
- System 3:** Treble staff has a melody of eighth notes: A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4. Bass staff has a accompaniment of eighth notes: A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3.
- System 4:** Treble staff has a melody of eighth notes: B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4. Bass staff has a accompaniment of eighth notes: B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3.
- System 5:** Treble staff has a final chord (F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4) followed by a double bar line. Bass staff has a final chord (F#3, G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3) followed by a double bar line.

THREE
H Y M N S

BY THE

*Author of the Manual of Prayers for the use of the
Scholars of Winchester Colledge.*

A Morning HYMN.

A Wake my Soul, and with the Sun,
Thy daily stage of Duty run ;
Shake off dull Sloth, and early rise,
To pay thy Morning Sacrifice.

Redeem thy mispent time that's past,
Live this day, as if 'twere thy last :
T'improve thy Talent take due care,
Gainst the great Day thy self prepare.

Let all thy Converse be sincere,
Thy Conscience as the Noon-day clear ;
Think how all-seeing God thy ways,
And all thy secret Thoughts surveys.

Influenc'd by the Light Divine,
Let thy own Light in good Works shine :
Reflect all Heaven's propitious ways,
In ardent Love, and chearful Praise.

Wake and lift up thy self my Heart,
And with the Angels bear thy part,
Who all night long unwearied sing,
Glory to the Eternal King.

I wake, I wake, ye Heavenly Chöre
May your Devotion me inspire,
That I like you my Age may spend,
Like you may on my God attend.

May I like you in God delight,
Have all day long my God in sight,
Perform like you my Makers Will,
O may I never more do ill.

Had I your Wings, to Heaven I'd flie,
But God shall that defect supply,
And my Soul wing'd with warm desire,
Shall all day long to Heav'n aspire.

Glory to thee who safe hast kept,
And hast refresht me whilst I slept.
Grant Lord, when I from death shall wake,
I may of endless Light partake.

I would not wake, nor rise again,
Ev'n Heav'n it self I would disdain ;
Wert not thou there to be enjoy'd,
And I in Hymns to be imploy'd.

Heav'n is, dear Lord, where e'r Thou art,
O never then from me depart ;
For to my Soul 'tis Hell to be,
But for one moment without thee.

Lord I my vows to thee renew,
Scatter my sins as Morning dew,
Guard my first springs of Thought, and Will,
And with thy self my Spirit fill.

Direct, controul, suggest this day,
All I design, or do, or say ;
That all my Powers, with all their might,
In thy sole Glory may unite.

An Evening HYMN.

519

Praise God, from whom all Blessings flow,
Praise him all Creatures here below,
Praise him above y' Angelic Host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

An Evening HYMN.

GLory to thee my God, this night,
For all the Blessings of the Light ;
Keep me, O keep me King of Kings,
Under thy own Almighty Wings.

Forgive me Lord, for thy dear Son,
The ill that I this day have done,
That with the World, my self, and Thee,
I, e'r I sleep, at peace may be.

Teach me to live, that I may dread,
The Grave as little as my Bed ;
Teach me to die, that so I may
Triumphing rise at the last day.

O may my Soul on thee repose,
And with sweet sleep mine Eye-lids close ;
Sleep that may me more vig'rous make,
To serve my God when I awake.

When in the night I sleepless lie,
My Soul with Heavenly Thoughts supply,
Let no ill Dreams disturb my Rest,
No powers of darkness me molest.

Dull sleep of Sense me to deprive,
I am but half my days alive ;
Thy faithful Lovers, Lord, are griev'd
To lie so long of Thee bereav'd.

But though sleep o'r my frailty reigns,
Let it not hold me long in chains,
And now and then let loose my Heart,
Till it an Hallelujah dart.

The faster sleep the sense does bind,
The more unfetter'd is the Mind ;
O may my Soul from matter free,
Thy unvail'd Goodness waking see !

O when shall I in endless day,
For ever chase dark sleep away,
And endless praise with th'Heavenly Choir,
Incessant sing, and never tire ?

You my blest Guardian, whilst I sleep,
Close to my Bed your Vigils keep,
Divine Love into me instil,
Stop all the avenues of ill.

Thought to thought with my Soul converse,
Celestial Joys to me rehearse,
And in my stead all the night long,
Sing to my God a grateful Song.

Praise God from whom all Blessings flow,
Praise him all Creatures here below,
Praise him above y'Angelick Host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

A Midnight HYMN.

Lord, now my Sleep does me forsake,
 The sole possession of me take,
 Let no vain fancy me illude,
 No one impure desire intrude.

Blest Angels! while we silent lie,
 Your Hallelujahs sing on high,
 You, ever wakeful near the Throne,
 Prostrate, adore the Three in One.

I now awake do with you joyn,
 To praise our God in Hymns Divine :
 With you in Heav'n I hope to dwell,
 And bid the Night and World farewell.

My Soul, when I shake off this dust,
 Lord, in thy Arms I will entrust ;
 O make me thy peculiar care,
 Some heav'nly Mansion me prepare.

Give me a place at thy Saints feet,
 Or some fall'n Angel's vacant seat ;
 I'll strive to sing as loud as they,
 Who sit above in brighter day.

O may I always ready stand,
 With my Lamp burning in my hand,
 May I in sight of Heav'n rejoyce,
 When e'r I hear the Bridegroom's voice.

Glory to thee in light arraid,
 Who light thy dwelling place hast made,
 An immense Ocean of bright beams,
 From thy All-glorious Godhead streams.

A Midnight HYMN.

The Sun in its Meridian height,
Is very darknefs in thy fight :
My Soul, O lighten, and enflame,
With Thought and Love of thy great Name.

Bleft Jefu, thou on Heav'n intent,
Whole Nights haft in Devotion spent,
But I frail Creature, soon am tir'd,
And all my Zeal is soon expir'd.

My Soul, how canft thou weary grow,
Of Ante-dating Heav'n below,
In facred Hymns, and Divine Love,
Which will Eternal be above ?


Shine on me, Lord, new life impart,
Fresh ardours kindle in my Heart ;
One ray of thy All-quickning light,
Dispels the floth and clouds of night.

Lord, left the tempter me surprize,
Watch over thine own Sacrifice,
All loofe, all idle Thoughts caft out,
And make my very Dreams devout.

Praife God, from whom all Bleffings flow,
Praife him all Creatures here below,
Praife him above y'Angelick Hoft,
Praife Father, Son, and Holy Ghoft.

APPENDIX C.

SOMERS TRACTS, Vol. viii. p. 189.

“ TRUE and exact account of all the ceremonies observed by the Church of Rome, at the opening, during the progress, and at the conclusion of the next approaching Jubilee in the year 1700. Taken and translated into English from the Latin original, printed at Rome, by order of the Pope.”

“ At the approach of the Jubilee, the Popes of Rome cause the bill of Jubilee to be published with a great deal of pomp and magnificence. This ceremony is always performed on *Ascension day*, in the great portal of St. Peter's Church in the Vatican; where for this purpose are placed two rich chairs, from whence the ministers chosen by his Holiness, read with a very loud and distinct voice, the Brief or Bull of the Jubilee in Italian: after this publication four several copies of the said Bull are affix'd to the east, south, west, and north corners of the city of Rome,” &c.

“ This being done, Briefs or Letters are dispatched to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Superiours of all the Provinces in the Kingdoms, to notify the celebration of the Jubilee, and to exhort the Prelates to be more than ordinary zealous in their duty to instruct, either themselves, or by their ministers, the flocks committed to their care, by which means they may qualify themselves to obtain the happy effects of the approaching Jubilee; just as the Jubilee, instituted by Moses, according to God's order, was published before the seventh month under the sound of trumpets.

“ The solemnity of the Jubilee begins upon *Christmas-Eve*, just before the *Vespers*, by a ceremony which deserves particularly to be taken notice of, which is the opening of the *Holy Gate*. For the better understanding of which, it is to be known, that this *Holy Gate* is one of the gates of St. Peter's

Church in the *Vatican*, which is always shut, nay, even bricked up, during the interval betwixt the Jubilees, which always begins by the opening of this gate.

“After dinner, about the time of the Vespers of this great Eve, a most solemn procession is made at which assist the Ambassadors of foreign princes, then residing in *Rome*, the magistrates of the city, all the Penitentiaries and Prelates abiding at *Rome*; all the Chapters, Fraternities, the *Roman* Clergy, the College of Cardinals, and the Sovereign Pontiff in person, each according to his rank and quality. Thus they go in Procession, with a great Cross before them, to the Chappel of the Apostolic Palace, where the whole company being entered, the Holy Father, with all there present, fall on their knees before the Sacrament; in the mean time that many officers are employed in lighting flambeaus for the Cardinals to hold, as a sign of joy. Then the Pope throws some incense upon a chafing-dish, with a most profound reverence before the Altar; after which he begins the Hymn; *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is continued to the end by a concert of music, and sung distinctly, to represent the Holy Fathers in *Limbo*. From thence this procession goes on in the same order as before, to *St. Peter's* Church, being followed by the holy Father in person, who is carried in a chair, to the *Holy Gate*, which, as well as all the rest, is kept close shut up. Everybody having taken his place, the Holy Father gets out of his chair, and with a lighted Wax-Taper in his hand, walks up three steps to another chair, placed for that purpose, just by the *Holy Gate*. After he has reposed a little, he arises, and turning himself towards the *Holy Gate*, he knocks with a Silver Hammer on the *Holy Gate*, which is to be opened, and sings likewise three several times the following verses, unto which the musicians, who compose the chorus, answer at each time.

- V. *Aperite mihi portas Justitiæ*
Open unto me the Gates of Justice.
- R. *Ingressus in eas confitebor Domino*
When I am entered, I will praise the Lord.
- V. *Introibo in Domum tuam Domine.*
I will enter, O Lord, into thy House.

R. *Adorabo ad Templum Sanctum tuum in timore tuo*

I will adore thee in thy Fear in thy Temple.

V. *Aperite portas, quoniam nobiscum Deus.*

Open the Gates, because the Lord is with us.

R. *Quia fecit Virtutem in Israel.*

Because he has made known his Strength in Israel.

“Then the Pope sits down in his chair again ; and says :

V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*

Lord hear my prayer.

R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*

Let my cry reach thy Ears, O Lord.

“At the same instant that the Pope goes from the *Holy Gate* towards his chair, the masons begin to demolish the wall wherewith the *Holy Gate* had been bricked up, and as they are carrying off the materials, the Pope goes on thus ;

V. *Dominus vobiscum.*

The Lord be with you.

R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo*

And with thy holy Spirit.

OREMUS. *Actiones nostras quod sumus Domine, etc.*

“This Prayer being done, the Chorus sings the Psalm ;

Jubilare Deo omnis terra, servite Deo in lætitiâ, etc.

During which time the people which croud up as near as they can to the rails, and the Penitentiaries in their sacerdotal vestments, wash the Head-piece, Posts, and the Threshold, and in short the *Holy Gate* with Holy Water : which being done, the Pope, as he is approaching to enter the *Holy Gate*, says the following verses, and is answered by the Chorus ;

V. *Hic dies quam fecit Dominus.*

This is the day the Lord has given us.

R. *Exultemus, et lætemur in ea.*

Let us rejoice in it.

V. *Beatus populus tuus, Domine.*

Happy is thy people, O Lord.

- R. *Qui facit Jubilationem.*
Which enjoys this Jubilee
- V. *Hæc est porta Domini*
This is the Gate of the Lord.
- R. *Iusti intrabunt per eam*
The righteous are to enter it.
- V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam*
O Lord hear my prayer.
- R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat*
And let my cry reach thy ear.
- V. *Dominus vobiscum*
The Lord be with you
- R. *Et cum spiritu tuo.*
And with thy Spirit.

Let us pray.

"O LORD, who by thy servant *Moses*, didst institute among the Children of *Israel* the Jubilee and Year of Remission : grant, through thy goodness, to us who have the honour to be called Thy servants, to commence happily this present Jubilee, ordained by thy Authority ; and in which it has been thy Will to set open to thy people in a most solemn manner this Gate, through which to enter into thy Temple, to offer their prayers in the presence of thy divine Majesty ; that thereby having obtained plenary and absolute Remission of all our sins, we may, at the day of our departure out of this world, be conducted, through thy mercy, to the enjoyment of the Heavenly Glory, through *Jesus Christ*. Amen.

"This prayer being ended, a Cross is given into the Pope's hand, who, kneeling down in the *Holy Gate*, sings the *Te Deum laudamus*, &c., and afterwards, as he is entering through the Gate, the Chorus go on singing *Te Dominum*. He is no sooner entered through the Gate into the body of the church, but the Chairmen, clothed in red, attending for that purpose, take him up in a Chair, and carry him straightways to the Great Altar of the Church of *St. Peter* ; where being set down, he arises out of the chair, and after some time spent in prayers before the Holy Sacrament, he mounts a throne, erected on

purpose for this use, and begins the Vespers, which, according to custom, are sung for the Feast of the Nativity of our Saviour.

“Having entertained you sufficient with the *Holy Gates*, and the ceremonies belonging to them, we must also take a short view of those transactions which are performed in the city of *Rome*, to obtain the happy end of the Jubilee. As those who hope to reap the fruits of a plenary Indulgence, must qualify themselves for it by many acts of charity, a true penitence, and other good works, so, I must needs tire the readers patience, if I should pretend to give an exact account of those who flock from all parts of Rome, to make their Confessions, and appear before the highest tribunal of Penitence ; it will suffice to say, that both day and night all the Churches of that great City are filled up with innumerable multitudes of people, who offer up their prayers in the Presence of God Almighty. I may say it without vanity, that there is no street, no, not so much as a by-lane, in this vast City, which being formerly the capital Empire of the world, is now the Capital of God’s Kingdom upon Earth, where you may not see most evident marks of an unfeigned piety ; here you meet those who make it their whole business to give alms to the poor, with so much profusion, that you cannot imagine otherwise, but that they are giving away all they have, the better to follow Christ ; others you may observe to bestow most of their time and substance in giving a good reception to those Pilgrims, who come from all the corners of Christendom, to partake of the happy effects of the Jubilee. You will meet as well in the streets as in the churches, vast numbers of both sexes, who touched with remorse for their past crimes, appear in miserable dress, and a most abject posture ; some are clad in long coarse Gowns, others covered only with Sack-Cloth, some cover their hands and faces with Ashes, others knock their breasts with their fists ; many there are who tear their flesh all over their bodies by the violence of the Discipline ; and to be short, there is scarce any kind of mortification invented to give satisfaction to, and appease God’s anger, which you see not put in practice at that time. Neither must you imagine that those Exercises

are performed by private persons only ; no, you will see whole Fraternities and Congregations, composed of a considerable number, who, all animated by the same Spirit, strive to excite one another to the performance of them, by their mutual examples. Thus you may behold entire Chapters and Colleges of Canons, and other Societies, enter in Proceſſion the city of *Rome* ; nay, whole pariſhes, with their Curates at the head of them, who leave their habitations to pay their adoration to the Lord, and his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, in that Church, where, as it may be ſaid, God has erected his Tabernacle, and honoured it with his particular protection, and which claims a Prerogative before others, by the death of the chief of the Apoſtles and his fellow Sufferer. With this kind of people you ſee all the ſtreets, and other public places, of this vaſt City crowded, going in proceſſion from one Church to the other, ſome ſinging, others ſighing and ſhedding tears. For whiſt ſome are buſy ſinging the Litanies and Pſalms, appointed for that purpoſe, others offer their prayers with their eyes faſtened to the ground, and when they approach the Churches, eſpecially that of *St. Peter*, you may ſee many of them crawling upon the ground to the foot of the altar, where they continue for a conſiderable time in ſaying their prayers."

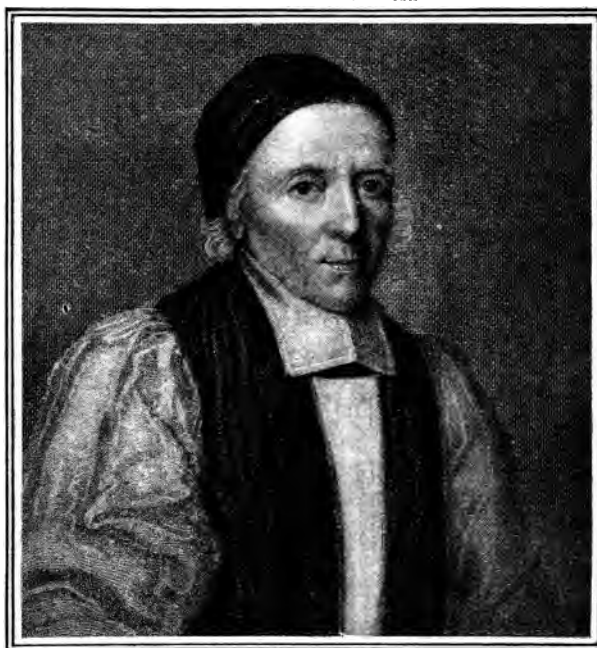
After this follows a particular account of ſhutting up the Holy Gate at the end of the Jubilee year, which is on the following Chriſtmas Eve. The Pope, with a ſilver trowel gilt, takes mortar, &c., and with great ceremony begins the operation of bricking up the Holy Gate, which is not to be opened till the next Jubilee : this is finiſhed by others in the Pope's preſence all ſinging in chorus :—*Lauda Jeruſalem Dominum letatus ſum in his*," &c., p. 196.

FINIS.



Bishop Ken's Paten and Chalice at Frome Parish Church





William Sanoroft, Archbishop of Canterbury
(From a portrait by Luttrell in Lambeth Palace)



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